

# **FREEDOM OF INFORMATION AND PRIVACY ACTS**

**SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.**

**FILE NUMBER: 100-106670**

**MAIN FILE**

**SECTION: 4**



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MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

MAIN FILE

100-106670

SECTION 4

Date of Mail 7-5-63

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

SEE NEXT PAGE

Subject JUNE MAIL Martin Luther King, Jr.

67-106670-165

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File Number 100-106670-165

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UNITED STATES GOV

## Memorandum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : Mr. DeLoach

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: ABNER WINSTON BERRY  
MYLES HORTON  
AUBREY WILLIS WILLIAMS

DATE: 7-16-63

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY SP4 DMM/

REASON FOR EXTENSION 2

FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2

DATE OF REVIEW FOR 7-16-83

DECLASSIFICATION

6076

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
DeLoach	_____
Evers	_____
Malone	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

A United Press-International News Service release of July 12, 1963, reported Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett displayed a poster-size photograph to the Senate Commerce Committee which he claimed showed Negro leader Dr. Martin Luther King "at a communist training school." Governor Barnett said the picture was taken at the Highlander Folk School of Monteagle, Tennessee, and he identified those in the picture with Dr. King as Abner Berry, Myles Horton and Aubrey Williams. Mr. Tolson noted, "We should check our files."

INFORMATION IN BUFILES:

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

1 - Mr. Tolson

HHA:smg

(6)

ENCLOSURE

REC-104

XEROX

JUL 23 1963

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CRIME RECORDS

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

M. A. Jones to DeLoach  
RE: ABNER WINSTON BERRY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED]

b(1)

On June 20, 1963, Myles Horton identified himself to the FBI as Director of the Highlander Research and Education Center of Knoxville, Tennessee. This is the successor to the Highlander Folk School, originally at Monteagle, Tennessee, of which Horton was also the director. The latter school was supported primarily by donations from individuals and labor unions and it offered courses of instruction in labor organization, social economics and the general field of labor education. It was known to have Communist Party members on its staff and it followed the practice of securing communists as students. It was never known to have offered courses of instructions in communism nor was the Party known to have succeeded in gaining control of the school. There were many allegations that it represented the headquarters for communism in Eastern Tennessee; however, these claims were never substantiated. The Tennessee Courts revoked the Highlander Folk School's charter on the grounds that it violated the criminal laws of the State. A State Charter for the Knoxville School was issued on August 28, 1961.

[REDACTED]

b(1)

M.A. Jones to DeLoach Memo  
RE: ABNER WINSTON BERRY

[REDACTED]

b(1)

Horton was reported to be listed as one of the speakers for a "Bill of Rights Dinner" which was to be sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee on December 15, 1959.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

✓

JPW TW  
Wes Bv

gk

X

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

# DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☒ RADIO ☐ TELETYPE

DEFERRED 7/22/63  
 TO DIRECTOR AND SAC NEW YORK  
 FROM SAC ATLANTA 221623

REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., RM. *b7(D)*

*McGowan*  
*Tracy*  
*L.A.*  
 ADVISED  
 REV. KING MADE RESERVATIONS TODAY ON EAL FLIGHT 516 DEPARTING  
 ATLANTA 7:35 A.M., JULY 23 NEXT, ARRIVING NEW YORK 11:27 A.M.  
 HAS RETURN RESERVATIONS DELTA FLIGHT 821 FROM NEW YORK,  
 ARRIVING ATLANTA 5:30 P.M., JULY 24.  
 ABOVE FOR INFORMATION ONLY.

RECEIVED: 2:03 PM FN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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 DATE 11-12-90 BY SP4JML/2  
11-12-90

REC-28 100-106670 16

10 JUL 23 1963

RELAYED TO NEW YORK

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-357044)

7/11/63

SAC, PITTSBURGH (100-10987)(RUC)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL GUARDIAN  
IS - C  
(OO: NEW YORK)

[REDACTED] made available two items mailed to one [REDACTED] b(1) b7(c)

One item was a letter from MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., 332 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Ga., asking for funds in connection with the Negro fight for racial equality. The second item was an addressograph mailing label from the "National Guardian."

[REDACTED] b(1) b7(c)

This is furnished to the Bureau and to New York since it appears that KING or his supporters have an arrangement to use addressograph plates of the "National Guardian."

The items described above are being retained in Pittsburgh file 100-357044.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - New York (100-93572)(RM)
- 2 - Pittsburgh [REDACTED] b(1)

HSM/jak/bac  
(6)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF [REDACTED]

CLASSIFIED AND  
EXTENDED BY [REDACTED]  
REASON FOR EXTENSION 2  
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW FOR  
DECLASSIFICATION 7-11-83  
6076

NOT RECORDED  
180 JUL 19 1963

56 JUL 22 1963

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INTV [REDACTED]

ORIGINAL FILED IN

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE NEW YORK	OFFICE OF ORIGIN ATLANTA - Secret	DATE 7/22/63	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 5/7-7/12/63
TITLE OF CASE <b>SECRET</b> MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.			REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7(c)

## CHARACTER OF CASE

SECURITY MATTER-C  
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF Classification  
DATE 11/14/77 R59

## REFERENCES:

Report of SA [REDACTED] at Atlanta,  
dated 5/3/63.  
Report of SA [REDACTED] at New York,  
dated 4/13/62.  
Bulet to New York, 5/1/62.

- RUC -

## ADMINISTRATIVE:

SECRET

CLASSIFIED AND  
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FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW FOR  
DECLASSIFICATION 7-22-83  
6076

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3-Atlanta (100-5586) (RM)  
1-New York (100-136585)

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Exempt from GDS, Paragraph 1  
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11/10/77

## DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT

AGENCY	7/24/63		
REQUEST RECD.			
DATE FWD.	7/24/63		
HOW FWD.	NIS		
BY	WJH/100		

## NOTATIONS

700 SE 3 33 44 83  
SUBV. CONTROL  
DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

62 JUL 29 1963

**SECRET**

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~SECRET~~

## Copy to:

Report of:

Date:

Field Office File #:

Title:

[REDACTED] b7(c) Office: New York, New York  
7/22/63

100-130505

Bureau File #: 100-106670

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Character:

SECURITY MATTER-C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

Synopsis:

[REDACTED] S b(1)

- RUC -

8/1/63  
Do not  
downgrade to  
clearance  
Section Chief  
[REDACTED] b7(c)  
WTF

CLASSIFIED AND  
EXTENDED BY SP4 JRM/4  
REASON FOR EXTENSION 2  
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW FOR  
DECLASSIFICATION 7-22-83  
6076

Classified by 6080  
Exempt from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification Indefinite  
Redes 11/16/77

~~SECRET~~

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

NY 100-136585

~~SECRET~~

DETAILS:

AFFILIATION WITH THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

A. Evidence of Communist Party Sympathies

*Do Not Diss.*  
[REDACTED] S

b(1)

[REDACTED] c

B. Support of the Communist Party (CP)

[REDACTED]

b(1)

[REDACTED] c

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS S

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS on May 6, 1962, stated he is National Secretary of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA).

[REDACTED]

c b(1)

C. CP Associates

1. STANLEY LEVISON S

[REDACTED] c

b(1)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-136585

~~SECRET~~

[REDACTED]

b(1)

On March 22, 1962, STANLEY LEVISON stated that MARTIN called him early yesterday morning before he went to church and told LEVISON that "COBERTA" had been invited to go to Geneva by the Women's Strike for Peace Convention. KING stated that Mrs. CYRUS EATON would be going with the delegation of about 30 women, most of whom are housewives. ◆

LEVISON indicated that KING was concerned with idea that the "Communist label would be pinned on us," but on the other hand he desired to do everything possible on the question of making evidence of friendship towards the Soviet Union. ◆

[REDACTED]

b(1)

On June 11, 1962, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. visited the office of STANLEY LEVISON, 6 East 39th Street, New York City. ◆

LEVISON at this time told KING that he was glad that KING had followed his advice in calling off the planned sit-in demonstration in Atlanta, following the plane crash which took the lives of many prominent Atlantans. KING agreed it was a good idea, a smart move which undoubtedly achieved better feelings toward his group. ◆


LEVISON and KING discussed future affairs planned by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). KING detailed one in particular which they planned to hold at the Waldorf Hotel, indicating it would be held at \$25.00 a plate with an expected attendance of 1,000. LEVISON commented that he thought it was priced too high, and thought that 300 would be a more accurate figure for attendance. ◆

[REDACTED]

b(1)


NY 100-136585


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On September 10, 1962, STANLEY LEVISON was in contact with CLARENCE JONES, with respect to the church burnings in the south. JONES and LEVISON said that MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. should not be silent with regard to this matter, but should send some sort of a "hot wire" to "KENNEDY" along the lines that the Government cannot control a small community. They stated the wire should be indignant and a comparison should be made in the telegram that the United States' world-wide obligations are so great that it can not take care of a small community. JONES stated that he would suggest the idea of the telegram to MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  c b(1)

CLARENCE JONES

CLARENCE JONES is currently the Acting Executive Secretary of the Ghandi Society for Human Rights.

 c

 c b(1)

The LYL has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-136585

~~SECRET~~

[REDACTED] advised that CLARENCE JONES, in filling out an application, listed the fact that he belonged to the Columbia University Chapter of the Young Progressives of America (YPA) during 1949-1953.

b7(D)

[REDACTED] c b(1)

HERBERT ROMERSTEIN, a self-admitted former Communist and YPA member, in testimony before a subcommittee of the Committee of the Judiciary, United States Senate, on April 12 and June 12, 1951, stated that the YPA was set up on the basis of the needs of the Communist Party (CP). YPA members were active within the organization as Communists and the organization was developed along CP lines. ROMERSTEIN also related that YPA leadership was composed of CP members.

On February 5, 1963, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. contacted STANLEY LEVISON in New York City. LEVISON said that he had some notes for KING for tonight (February 5, 1963). KING said that was the reason for his call. KING indicated that he was attending a dinner at the Essex House at 59th Street at about 6:30 p.m. that evening. LEVISON agreed to meet KING at KING's room at the Sheraton-Atlantic Hotel at 5:00 p.m. at which time LEVISON would give KING the notes. ●

[REDACTED] c b(1)

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On March 6, 1963, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. and STANLEY LEVISON had a lengthy discussion in which they discussed an article that KING was preparing for the magazine "The Nation."

Among other items, LEVISON and KING discussed the President's Civil Rights message. KING said he made a statement after the message came out to the effect that "if we can get a significant breakthrough in voter registration, it will mean a great deal.... in the total struggle, but it doesn't go far enough." KING referred to the schizophrenic trend of the administration, on one hand it appoints a THURGOOD MARSHALL as a Federal Judge, and then appoints judges in the south who are outright segregationists." KING stated that "KENNEDY has often said to me that you can't get this through.... there is no point in introducing strong civil rights legislation because you can't get it through." KING concluded by stating that his contention is that if he (President KENNEDY) would get out and really fight - crusade for it, it would have a stronger chance of getting through." LEVISON agreed with KING on this observation.

 b(1)

On March 10, 1963, STANLEY LEVISON was in contact with MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. KING stated that he would be in New York sometime next week and wanted to get a group together at Harry's to discuss "this Birmingham thing." KING added "we decided to postpone that thing until the day after the election because BULL O'CONNOR is in the runoff, and we feel that if we make a move before that time, he could use that to his advantage."

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KING then told LEVISON that going into Birmingham is going to be a difficult matter; that they are going to do everything they can to destroy the image of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, particularly the Birmingham newspapers. Now, since they played this thing up so much "we were wondering if it would be better to continue sending the circulars through the usual channels." LEVISON agreed and concluded by stating, "There is no sense giving them a timely red herring."

 b(1)

On May 21, 1963, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. had a lengthy discussion with STANLEY LEVISON. LEVISON inquired of KING as to the feeling of the Birmingham community to the expulsion of Negro students by the Birmingham Board of Education. KING replied that he thought "we" could hold them together. He does not, in his opinion, want to follow an unwise act on the part of the Board of Education, with an unwise act on "our part." KING believes that (EUGENE) "BULL" O'CONNOR, City Commissioner of Public Safety, is doing this to provoke the Negro community to the point that they will do something to so confuse the situation that it will upset the agreement now in effect. LEVISON suggested that KING issue a statement that he will not be trapped by these tactics. KING stated that he had made it very clear that this was a temporary move and that it would be unwise to move without looking at the total situation.

LEVISON told KING that he had a discussion with CLARENCE JONES, Chief Counsel, Ghandi Society of Human Rights, concerning setting up temporary educational

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NY 100-136585

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facilities for the expelled students and going to the public and to prominent individuals, to ask for contributions for this purpose. KING thought this was a good idea, but he hoped it would not be necessary as he felt that "we are going to get them back in school."

LEVISON then suggested that KING write a book concerning his experiences in Birmingham.

[REDACTED] c b(1)

On May 23, 1963, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. was in contact with STANLEY LEVISON and discussed a fund raising luncheon to be held in New York City.

[REDACTED] c b(1)

On June 1-2, 1963, a discussion was held between STANLEY LEVISON, a New York Attorney, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., Leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and CLARENCE JONES, Acting Executive Director of the Ghandi Society for Human Rights. During the discussion, KING mentioned that ROY WILKINS of the NAACP had been imprisoned but may now be out on bond. LEVISON suggested that KING send a telegram to the President protesting the incarceration of WILKINS.

KING told LEVISON he had read his, LEVISON's, memorandum, but did not quite understand what LEVISON proposed be done now.

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LEVISON explained that it was his thought that "the Birmingham pattern" can be followed in other cities where there are unresolved problems. He noted that in Atlanta, there is no bi-racial committee and the establishment of one could be a first demand. In other cities, it may be desirable to have direct action first "followed by the Birmingham pattern." LEVISON said that each city should be examined separately.

KING commented that he has never seen the Negro community as aroused, as determined, as enthusiastic as at this time. He said that "more than ever before is this national determination and feeling that time is running out." He stated that he thought "we are on the threshold of a significant breakthrough and the greatest weapon is mass demonstration."

KING stated "we are at the point where we can mobilize all of this righteous indignation into a powerful mass movement."

KING suggested that there be a mass march or the impression be given that a mass march of "literally thousands and thousands of people is going to be organized on Washington." He added "the threat itself may so frighten the President that he would have to do something." He asked LEVISON "are we ready for that?"

LEVISON said there were two things which must be considered:

1. There must be unanimity among all groups.
2. Is there more pressure generated on Washington by the series of local situations than by a mass march on Washington?

NY 100-136585

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KING said that he felt there could be unanimity. He said ROY (WILKINS) would probably not be opposed as "pressure builds from the bottom" and the NAACP would exert much pressure on WILKINS.

With respect to the second point raised by LEVISON, KING pointed out he was not thinking of concentrating on Washington alone, but was thinking of activity in every state. He said there should be simultaneous protest on the local level "and at the same time a work stoppage would be called for all over America." He stated that the sort of thing he envisioned would have such an impact that "something would have to give." He again asked LEVISON if LEVISON thought the time was right for such a move and LEVISON agreed that "the time is now."

CLARENCE JONES suggested that KING should discuss his proposal with ROY WILKINS and PHIL before any announcement is made publicly. He felt the timing of such a move is most important.

LEVISON felt that KING was the proper person to make such an announcement and felt that it could be announced when KING addresses a scheduled Trade Union meeting and at his commencement address at City College of New York on June 12, 1963. Following this, LEVISON felt KING could discuss it with both ROY WILKINS and PHIL. LEVISON felt that since it was then publicly announced, WILKINS would have a hard time objecting. KING was of the opinion that he should call a special press conference, possibly in Atlanta, and make his announcement. LEVISON immediately agreed with this proposal and suggested he implement it in his speeches.

The identity of PHIL is unknown to the source.

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KING stated that in all probability, he would get a call from Washington, suggesting that since the President is leaving for Europe shortly, it would be embarrassing for him. ●

LEVISON commented that because of the President's trip to Europe, he will have to pay attention. He again suggested that a press conference would have a real impact, but suggested that "PHIL" should be advised beforehand. ●

KING said that such an undertaking would require a real job of mobilization and people would be needed full time. ●

LEVISON said the effect of such an announcement will "tip" the President towards Civil Rights legislation and this new legislation "will be a powerful lever." ●

KING suggested that either LEVISON or JONES see "PHIL" and "two of you work out the statement along the lines of the new militancy throughout the country." ●

KING felt that such undertaking would take six to eight weeks to organize. ●

LEVISON said that the summer can be a factor as many organizations are on vacation. It was indicated that CLARENCE JONES had attended a meeting at which the National Council of Churches had expressed an interest in KING's "direct action" approach and had specifically mentioned a march on Washington. LEVISON asked JONES if it would be possible to quote individuals without mentioning names who had attended the aforementioned meeting, as "this is new when White Church leadership is looking for something in the way of direct action." He said this would give it the biggest, broadest front ever as "you can see the effect of Negroes joined by the National Council of Churches and not just the Negro churches." ●

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When JONES demurred to LEVISON's proposal, LEVISON agreed that perhaps it would be inadvisable. 5

LEVISON asked KING if he would be willing to appear on a television program with JAMES BALDWIN, the writer. KING was not enthusiastic about the idea because he felt that BALDWIN was uninformed regarding his movement. KING noted that BALDWIN, although considered a spokesman of the Negro people, by the press, is not a civil rights leader. 6

[REDACTED]

b(1)

On June 4, 1963, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. was in contact with STANLEY LEVISON. LEVISON and KING discussed an article about KING that was to appear in the next issue of the "Saturday Evening Post." LEVISON and KING also discussed an appearance by KING on some television program in New York City. 6

[REDACTED]

b(1)

On June 6, 1963, STANLEY LEVISON had a discussion with MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. KING inquired if LEVISON had had an opportunity to talk with PHIL. LEVISON replied that CLARENCE JONES reached PHIL in Chicago, and that PHIL in general, liked the idea regarding a mass march on Washington that would bring nationwide attention to the cause of the Negro. According to LEVISON, PHIL wants to discuss this matter with KING personally. In view of the fact that PHIL's organization had planned a similar march in the fall, and that if 6

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any kind of march on Washington is to take place now, it would make the march in the fall by PHIL's organization anti-climatic. It was PHIL's opinion that perhaps the march by his organization, and that proposed by KING could be coincided in the immediate future. LEVISON suggested that KING attempt to contact PHIL as soon as possible in order to discuss this matter in detail.

KING asked LEVISON if LEVISON, along with JACK O'DELL (HUNTER PITTS O'DELL) would be able to get some statistics on the annual Negro income of the average Negro family, as against the annual income of the average white family on a national level, and then for some southern states, like Alabama, where "we" are now working. KING would like to use these statistics at a luncheon in New York City on June 12, 1963. LEVISON stated that he would attempt to get the statistics along with JACK O'DELL, and pointed out that the main point of these statistics is that the gap between Negro and white income today is greater than the gap that existed between Negro and white income during the Depression days. KING and LEVISON made arrangements to discuss these and other matters later in the week.

[REDACTED] c

[REDACTED] b(1)

[REDACTED] S

[REDACTED] c

X

NY 100-136585

~~SECRET~~

On June 10, 1963, STANLEY LEVISON took part in a conference with the Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., CLARENCE JONES, the Reverend WYATT TEE WALKER, and Reverend RALPH ABERNATHY, among others. According to the source, the purpose of this conference was to obtain ideas as to how to dramatize the proposed march on Washington. Reverend KING stated that the basic purpose of the march on Washington would be to put the pressure on Congress so that the civil rights legislation would be passed. KING said that President KENNEDY would be able to get off the hook if the legislation was not passed by saying that he attempted to get it through. ●

It was felt that the National Council of Churches can be utilized in this demonstration and also in the similar demonstrations that will be simultaneously held throughout the rest of the country. Reverend KING stated that he had mixed emotions about President KENNEDY in that the President should be made to know that "we" are not satisfied with him and what he has done in the field of civil rights. On the other hand, according to KING, there are some Negro people that think KENNEDY has done a good job in this field. ●

Those participating in the conference were in agreement that the Washington demonstration should be focused on the Congress rather than the White House. It was felt that the timing of the demonstrations should be coincided with the anticipated filibuster of the civil rights legislation. However, CLARENCE JONES did not agree with this because he felt it would be impossible to properly prepare a demonstration in advance if the demonstration has to wait for the filibustering to begin before it can be put into effect. It was felt that possibly 100,000 people, including children, would be ●

NY 100-136585

~~SECRET~~

utilized in the Washington demonstration in order for it to be politically impressive and that the demonstrations can possibly start in the balcony of Congress. It was felt that more than likely, some time in August, 1963, would be when the demonstration and the march on Washington would take place. 6

Reverend KING stated that he planned to attend a conference soon with leaders of other organizations in order to discuss the march on Washington with them. LEVISON suggested to KING that KING take advantage of the two public appearances he will make in New York City, during the coming week, to announce his plans for the march on Washington and the demonstrations that will go along with it. 6

WYATT TEE WALKER

WYATT TEE WALKER is assistant to MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. and Executive Director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

RALPH ABERNATHY

RALPH ABERNATHY is assistant to MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. and Vice President of the SCLC.

On June 12, 1963, STANLEY LEVISON had a discussion with MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., Leader of the SCLC. STANLEY LEVISON informed MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. that, after he had read President KENNEDY's speech of June 11, 1963, his feelings are stronger than ever that the focus of any Washington action should not be directed against the President. KING agreed and asked LEVISON if he had heard the President's speech. KING said it was the strongest statement the President has made and "he was really great." 6

NY 100-136585

~~SECRET~~

LEVISON commented that he had not heard the President's speech, but this is what KING has been asking the President to do and, therefore, KING has to take a positive approach to it, otherwise, it would sound as if KING was not dealing with changing realities himself. ●

Continuing, LEVISON commented that "we" cannot put the President in the position of being the enemy and focus the Washington demonstration against him. LEVISON stated that the enemy to be dealt with is the Congress. KING said he agreed completely with LEVISON on this. ●

 c b(1)

2. HUNTER PITTS O'DELL

On June 20, 1962, STANLEY LEVISON conversed with HUNTER PITTS O'DELL, and they discussed the following: ●

LEVISON stated that in a recent conversation with MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., KING said that he was thinking of getting another administrative assistant. LEVISON stated that in the past, LEVISON had not considered it wise for O'DELL to take on such a position but he is the only one who could do the job and should be considered for it. LEVISON stated as long as O'DELL did not have the title of Executive Director, there would not be "as much lightning flashing around him." O'DELL could be called a Coordinator and still fulfill all the duties of an Executive Director. ●

X

NY 100-136585

~~SECRET~~

LEVISON stated that KING liked LEVISON's suggestion with respect to O'DELL taking this position because KING felt that O'DELL must face it sooner or later, stating "that no matter what a man was, if he could stand up now and say he is not connected, then as far as I am concerned, he is eligible to work for me."

[REDACTED] c b(1)

The "Long Island Star Journal" issue of November 2, 1962, page 1, carried an article entitled "Communist Resigns from Reverend King's Group." The article stated, "the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. said today that Jack H. O'Dell, who was identified as a Communist in a story in the 'Star Journal' October 26, has resigned as an official of the SCLC."

"In a prepared statement from Atlanta, Dr. King denied knowledge of any previous activity of O'Dell. King said that O'Dell was never Director of the SCLC nor was ever considered for the position."

"The article further stated, "SCLC has a policy, King said that no person of known Communist affiliation could serve on the staff, Executive Board, or its membership at large."

The October 26th story (in the "Star Journal") said that from his birth in Detroit in 1923, and as late as 1958, O'DELL was known as HUNTER PITTS O'DELL.

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-136585

On June 9, 1963, STANLEY LEVISON conferred with HUNTER PITTS O'DELL. LEVISON inquired if O'DELL had located the statistics which MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. had requested regarding the annual income of the average Negro family as against the annual income of the average white family. O'DELL stated that he believed he had given a copy of the statistics to CLARENCE JONES, and that he would get them from JONES today and send them to KING airmail, special delivery.

 c b(1)

MISCELLANEOUS

 c b(1)

~~SECRET~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
New York, New York

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

July 22, 1963

Bufile 100-106670  
New York 100-136585

Title

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Character

Security Matter-C

Reference

of Special Agent [REDACTED] is made to New York report  
as above. dated and captioned

b7(c)

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities  
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable  
information in the past.

**COPIES DESTROYED**

**8 APR 8 1974**

REC-9

1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Mohr  
1 - Mr. DeLoach

July 18, 1963

1 - Mr. Evans  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. M. A. Jones  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Mr. Bland  
1 - Section Tickler  
1 - Mr. Garner

100-106670-161  
Honorable Jeffery Cohelan  
House of Representatives  
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Congressman:

Reference is made to your letter dated July 15, 1963, with the enclosed flyer and your request for information regarding the allegations concerning Dr. Martin Luther King and the Highlander Folk School. In line with Departmental policy, your request and a copy of the flyer are being forwarded to the Attorney General for his consideration.

I am returning the flyer for your records.

Sincerely yours,

L. Edgar Hoover

JUL 18 3 58 PM '63  
REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI

MAILED 6

JUL 18 1963

COMM-FBI

Enclosure

JMS:gci  
(15)

NOTE: See memo R. W. Smith to W. C. Sullivan dated 7/18/63 re: "Requests from Senator Warren G. Magnuson and Congressman Jeffery Cohelan Concerning Current Racial Agitation," prepared by BLH:gci.

1 - The Attorney General  
1 - The Deputy Attorney General  
1 - Mr. Burke Marshall  
Assistant Attorney General

REC'D MAIL ROOM

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

63 JUL 29 1963

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

JEFFERY COHELAN  
7TH DISTRICT, CALIFORNIA

ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT:  
CHARLES E. BOSLEY

Congress of the United States  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D. C.

July 15, 1963

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Evans	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-28-80 BY SP4 Jm/ln

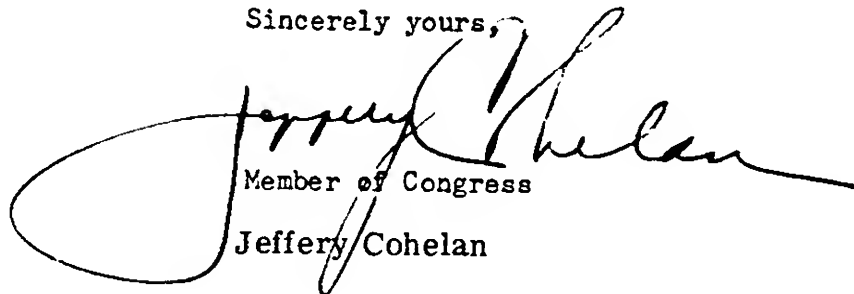
Dear Mr. Hoover:

6076

I am enclosing a copy of a flyer I recently received  
from the Citizens Anti-Communist Committee of Connecticut.

I would appreciate it if you would check the allegations  
made and comment on them, especially with regard to Dr.  
Martin Luther King and the Highlander Folk School.

Sincerely yours,

  
Member of Congress  
Jeffery Cohelan

REC-9

JUL 15 10 35 AM '63

JUL 17 1963

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

CORRESPONDENCE

# Communist Training School

LABOR DAY WEEKEND

HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL

MONTEAGLE TENN.



REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING addresses the assembly. Reverend King, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference is best known for his activities in the Montgomery Boycott, Montgomery Improvement Association and the March on Washington which he conducted with Bayard Rustin. The Daily Worker lists Bayard Rustin as one who attended the 1957 convention of the Communist Party USA. Bayard Rustin is identified in the Daily Worker as secretary to Reverend Martin Luther King.

The activities of Reverend Martin Luther King represent the ultimate in "civil disobedience." It is doubtful that Reverend King could have carried on such a program without outside leadership and financing; Bayard Rustin is perhaps the leading expert on "civil disobedience" in this country.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference is a new organization founded by Reverend King for region-wide agitation of racial violence and strife.

Every American Has the Right to Know the Truth

For further details on how to fight Communism  
Citizens Anti-Communist Committee of Conn.  
600 Heustonic Avenue, Bridgeport, Connecticut



PICTURED HERE (foreground) is Abner W. Berry of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. On the first row are Reverend Martin Luther King (2nd from right) of the Montgomery Boycott, Aubrey Williams (3rd from right) president of the Southern Conference Education Fund Inc. and Myles Horton (4th from right) the director of Highlander Folk School. These "four horsemen" of racial agitation have brought tension, disturbances, strife and violence in their advancement of the Communist doctrine of "racial nationalism".

## House Committee Citations

A few of the Communist Fronts listed above are defined so that the readers may more fully understand their activities. All definitions are taken from "GUIDE TO SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS"

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO REPEAL THE McCARRAN ACT

"To defend the cause of Communism and its agents."



PETE SEEGER is typical of the entertainer who gives his time and talent to the support of the Communist apparatus. He is a talented musician who is in attendance at many meetings such as this Communist Training School at Highlander.

The Daily Worker of February 22, 1949, lists Pete Seeger as a participant in the New York State Youth Board of the Communist Party.

Pete Seeger is [REDACTED] a one year jail sentence for his Communist connections.

### Records of Don West, John B. Thompson, James Dombrowski, Aubrey Williams

Listed below are the records of Communist Affiliation of four of the leaders of Highlander Folk School.

JAMES DOMBROWSKI  
JOHN B. THOMPSON  
DON WEST  
AUBREY WILLIAMS

Each of these four men was prominent in the establishment of Highlander Folk School or in its subsequent operation. They represent the nucleus of this Communist Training School.

#### DONALD L. WEST

- (1) American Peace Mobilization—endorser—call to American People's Meeting, April 3-4, 1941.
- (2) Book Union—contributor—New Masses, October 1, 1935, back cover.
- (3) Committee for Equal Justice for Mrs. Mary Taylor, an auxiliary of International Labor Defense—member of committee of sponsors—booklet, August 1944.
- (4) Communist Party—member—House Committee Report on Southern Conference for Human Welfare, 1947, page 5.

#### AUBREY WILLIAMS

- (1) American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born—sponsor of conference—program and call, October 26-27, 1949.
- (2) American Crusade to End Lynching—signer of call to pilgrimage to Washington—call, September 23, 1944.
- (3) American Youth Congress—speaker at 2 or 3 of their annual meetings—Williams' testimony before Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, March 19, 1944, p. 109.
- (4) Appeal to Guard Civil Rights—signer—Daily Worker, August

lined so that the readers may more fully understand their activities. All definitions are taken from "GUIDE TO SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS"

published January 2, 1957 by the U. S. House of Representatives Committee on Un-American Activities, Washington, D. C.

#### AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN

"To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the . . . COMMITTEE FOR PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVES TO THE ATLANTIC PACT

"As part of Soviet psychological warfare against the United States,

#### AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS

"It originated in 1934 and . . . has been controlled by Communists and manipulated by them to influence the thought of American youth."

#### CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS

Cited as an organization formed at a Congress on Civil Rights held in Detroit in April 1946 as a merger of two other Communist-front organizations (International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties); it was "dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party" and "controlled by individuals who are either members

#### SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE

Cited as a Communist-front organization "which seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South" although its "professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States."

#### ABRAHAM LINCOLN SCHOOL

"Schools under patriotic and benevolent titles indoctrinate Communists and outsiders in the theory and practice of communism, train organizers and operatives, recruit new party members and sympathizers." School, Chicago

#### COMMONWEALTH COLLEGE

A "Communist enterprise" cited as subversive by an investigating Committee of the Arkansas Legislature. It received money from the Garland Fund.

#### EMERGENCY PEACE MOBILIZATION

#### AMERICAN YOUTH FOR DEMOCRACY

Cited as the new name under which the Young Communist League operates and which also largely absorbed the American Youth Congress.

#### LEAGUE OF STRUGGLE FOR NEGRO RIGHTS

"The Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes is known as the National Negro Congress. Practically the

#### NEW MASSES

"Nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party . . . whose ownership was vested in the American Fund for Public Service." (Garland Fund).

#### METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL ACTION

"With an eye to religious groups, the Communists have found religious fronts such as the Methodist Federation for Social Action . . ."

#### NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS

Cited as a Communist front which is "used to appeal to special occupational groups . . ."

#### VETERANS AGAINST ENCRIMINATIONS OF CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS OF NEW YORK

Cited as a subversive affiliate of the subversive Civil Rights Congress.

#### MASS AND MAINTENANCE

Cited as the successor to New Masses, "a Communist organ."

"To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the . . . National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection."

#### NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS

"The Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes is known as the National Negro Congress. . . . The officers of the National Negro Congress are outspoken Communist sympathizers, and a majority of those on the executive board are outright Communists."

#### NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

"One of the Communist fronts currently active in seeking to deceive American Negroes into serving the Communist cause is the National Negro Labor Council . . ."

#### JEFFERSON SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

"Schools under patriotic and benevolent titles indoctrinate Communists and outsiders in the theory and practice of communism, train organizers and operatives, recruit new party members and sympathizers. . . . Schools of these type have been . . . Jefferson School of Social Science, New York. . . ."

#### POLITICAL AFFAIRS

Cited as an "official Communist Party monthly theoretical organ."

#### EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

"To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the . . . Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these fronts offer a bulwark of protection."

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

DATE: July 18, 1963

FROM : R. W. Smith *RS*SUBJECT: REQUESTS FROM SENATOR WARREN G. MAGNUSON  
AND CONGRESSMAN JEFFERY COHELAN  
CONCERNING CURRENT RACIAL AGITATION

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Reference my memorandum dated 7/18/63, captioned as above, which acknowledged receipt of letters and enclosures from Senator Magnuson and Congressman Cohelan and informed them that their requests are being forwarded to the Attorney General for his consideration.

Senator Magnuson requested information as to the authenticity of a photograph of Martin Luther King and others taken at the Highlander Folk School, the status of the Georgia Commission on Education which printed the photograph, and information relating to the Highlander Folk School. Congressman Cohelan also requested information regarding King and the school.

Information concerning the Highlander Folk School and those in the photograph with King--Abner Winston Berry, Aubrey Williams, and Myles Horton--was furnished to the Attorney General by letter dated 7/17/63, captioned "Martin Luther King, Security Matter-C, Racial Matters."

The enclosed memorandum contains additional information for the Attorney General.

The Georgia Commission on Education, a legislative investigating body of the State of Georgia, sent a photographer to a seminar at the Highlander Folk School over Labor Day, 1957, to take still and motion pictures of individuals and activities. Later the Commission published these photographs in a large folder.

Enclosures *sent 7-18-63*

1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Mohr  
1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Evans  
1 - Mr. Sullivan

1 - Mr. M. A. Jones  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Mr. Bland  
1 - Section tickler  
1 - Mr. Garner

100-106670-  
NOT RECORDED  
176 JUL 24 1963

55 3-11-63  
JUL 18 2 45 PM '63  
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-12-80 BY SP4JAM/ld  
6076

RS/RS/aaab  
(11)  
54 JUL 30 1963

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-60672-39

Memo Smith to Sullivan

Re: REQUESTS FROM SENATOR WARREN G. MAGNUSON  
AND CONGRESSMAN JEFFERY COHELAN  
CONCERNING CURRENT RACIAL AGITATION

Information in our files shows that Abner Berry, Aubrey Williams, and King were present at this Labor Day seminar at the school. King was quoted by a press service on July 13, 1963, as having admitted that he attended the 25th anniversary celebration of the school in 1957 and that the picture of him was apparently taken during this visit.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the enclosed letter be sent to the Attorney General.

WCS  
Br

GR.  
H

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-12-80 BY SP4 JAM/LL  
6076

Tolson ☒  
Belmont ☒  
Mohr ☒  
Casper ☒  
Callahan ☒  
Conrad ☒  
DeLoach ☒  
Evans ☒  
Gale ☒  
Rosen ☒  
Sullivan ☒  
Tavel ☒  
Trotter ☒  
Tele. Room ☒  
Holmes ☒  
Gandy ☒

UPI-95

ADD 5 CIVIL RIGHTS, WASHINGTON  
CHARGING THAT THE CURRENT WAVE OF CIVIL RIGHTS AGITATION WAS  
COMMUNIST-INSPIRED, BARNETT DISPLAYED A POSTER-SIZED PHOTOGRAPH WHICH  
HE CLAIMED SHOWED NEGRO LEADER DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING "AT A COMMUNIST  
TRAINING SCHOOL."

HE SAID THE PICTURE WAS TAKEN AT THE HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL, MT.  
EAGLE, TENN., BEFORE THE SCHOOL WAS SHUT DOWN BY THE STATE OF  
TENNESSEE AS "SUBVERSIVE." HE SAID HE GOT THE PICTURE FROM THE GEORGIA  
STATE COMMISSION ON EDUCATION.

ABOUT 400 PERSONS, PREDOMINANTLY WHITE YOUTHS, PACKED THE HEARING  
ROOM.

THURMOND REPEATEDLY CALLED FOR ORDER AS THE AUDIENCE, OBVIOUSLY  
SYMPATHETIC TO THE PROPOSED LEGISLATION, MOANED OR TITTERED DURING THE  
TESTIMONY.

BARNETT SAID THE PRESIDENT AND THE ATTORNEY GENERAL HAD ENCOURAGED  
DEMONSTRATIONS SUCH AS FREEDOM RIDES AND THE LIKE. HE SAID THE  
PRESIDENT'S RECENT TELEVISED CIVIL RIGHTS ADDRESS TOLD THE NEGRO, IN  
SUBSTANCE, THAT HE HAD NOT BEEN TREATED FAIRLY AND "WHAT ELSE CAN HE  
DO BUT RESORT TO THE STREETS."

HE SAID HE BELIEVED THERE HAD BEEN MORE SUCH ACTIVITY IN THE WEEKS  
SINCE THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH. MONRONEY, WHO CALLED ON BARNETT TO  
BACK UP HIS CHARGES, SAID HE DISAGREED "STRONGLY" WITH THE GOVERNOR'S  
STATEMENT.

MONRONEY SAID HE DID NOT THINK THE PRESIDENT'S COMMENTS COULD BE  
READ AS ENCOURAGING DEMONSTRATIONS. HE SAID HE ALSO DISAGREED WITH  
BARNETT'S CONCLUSION THAT CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVITY WAS COMMUNIST-INSPIRED.

BARNETT REPLIED BY PRODUCING THE PHOTOGRAPH.

MONRONEY ASKED BARNETT WHETHER HE HAD EVER SOUGHT INFORMATION FROM  
FBI DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER OR FROM OTHER AUTHORITIES SUCH AS THE  
HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UNAMERICAN ACTIVITIES ON THE BACKGROUND OF  
CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS. BARNETT SAID THAT HE HAD "NO EVIDENCE" FROM  
HOOVER, BUT SUGGESTED THAT THE COMMITTEE ASK HOOVER WHETHER SOME OF  
THOSE PICTURED WITH KING WERE COMMUNISTS.

BARNETT IDENTIFIED THOSE IN THE PICTURE WITH KING AS AUDREY  
WILLIAMS, DIRECTOR OF THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATION FUND OF  
NEW ORLEANS; ABNER BERRY, A NEGRO, AND MYLES HORTON, A FORMER DIRECTOR  
OF THE SCHOOL.

MONRONEY SAID CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVITY COULD NOT BE "SWEEPED UNDER THE  
RUG" AS COMMUNIST-INSPIRED. BARNETT AGREED, AS DID THURMOND, THAT SOME  
OF THE DEMONSTRATORS WERE SINCERE, BUT HE REPEATED HIS CLAIM THAT  
CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVITIES WERE "INSPIRED BY THE COMMUNISTS."

17/12--GE154P

WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

ENCLOSURE

7-15-63  
HHA

100-106670-164  
We should check our files  
712 5 4

Tolson ☒  
 Belmont ☒  
 Mohr ☒  
 Casper ☒  
 Callahan ☒  
 Conrad ☒  
 DeLoach ☒  
 Evans ☒  
 Gale ☒  
 Rosen ☒  
 Sullivan ☒  
 Tavel ☒  
 Trotter ☒  
 Tele. Room ☒  
 Holmes ☒  
 Gandy ☒

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 11-12-00 BY SP4 JMK/ML  
 6076

UPI-5

(RACIAL)

CAMBRIDGE, MD.--NEGRO LEADERS CALLED FOR MORE ANTI-SEGREGATION DEMONSTRATIONS TODAY, BUT APPEARED UNCERTAIN ABOUT SPECIFIC ACTION BECAUSE OF THE PRESENCE OF 450 NATIONAL GUARD TROOPS WHO WERE ENFORCING LIMITED MARTIAL LAW.

"WE MUST DEMONSTRATE," SAID STANLEY BRANCHE, AN NAACP LEADER. "WE HAVE NOTHING ELSE." BUT ANOTHER NEGRO SPOKESMAN, REGINALD ROBINSON, SAID HE HAD NO IDEA WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT. "THIS IS THE FIRST TIME I'VE EVER HAD TO PLAN A DEMONSTRATION AGAINST AN ARMY," ROBINSON SAID.

BRIG. GEN. GLESTON, THE 49-YEAR-OLD GUARD COMMANDER, COMMANDED TROOPS RETURNED YESTERDAY TO CAMBRIDGE TO ENFORCE LIMITED MARTIAL LAW FOR THE SECOND TIME IN LESS THAN A MONTH. FOUR PREVIOUS DAYS OF DEMONSTRATIONS HAD LED TO NEAR RACIAL WARFARE IN WHICH SIX MEN WERE SHOT, NONE SERIOUSLY, IN A RUNNING GUN BATTLE BETWEEN WHITES AND NEGROES.

THICE YESTERDAY, GELSTON APPEARED ALONE AND UNARMED TO TURN BACK CIVIL RIGHTS MARCHERS HEADED FOR THE WHITE SECTION OF THIS STRIFE-TORN FISHING COMMUNITY.

BRANCHE TOLD A MASS RALLY LAST NIGHT "WE'RE GOING TO DO IT AGAIN AND AGAIN." BUT PRIVATELY, BRANCHE SAID THE NEGRO COMMUNITY'S HIGH RESPECT FOR GELSTON MAY WELL DETERMINE HOW FAR HE AND OTHER INTEGRATIONIST LEADERS CAN GO IN DEFYING A MILITIA LAW BAN AGAINST DEMONSTRATIONS.

-0-

Martin Luther King

100-106670-  
 NOT RECORDED  
 191 JUL 18 1963

See memo Sullivan  
 7-13-63  
 re Martin Luther King  
 JF13:AMS

See pg 7

17 JUL 17 1963

67 JUL 18 1963

WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-1-105

SAVANNAH, GA.--AN UNEASY PEACE MARRED BY SCATTERED VANDALISM SETTLED ON THIS PORT CITY TODAY. NEGRO LEADERS URGED SUSPENSION OF THE ANTI-SEGREGATION DEMONSTRATIONS THAT LED TO TWO WILD NIGHTS OF VIOLENCE.

REINFORCED STATE AND LOCAL POLICE FORCES PATROLLED THE CITY AND A LOCAL UNIT OF THE NATIONAL GUARD REMAINED ON STAND-BY ALERT IN CASE OF A NEW OUTBREAK OF VIOLENCE.

NEGRO LEADERS, AT A MASS MEETING OF ABOUT 800 NEGROES LAST NIGHT, URGED THEIR FOLLOWERS TO TURN THEIR EFFORTS FROM DEMONSTRATIONS IN THE STREETS TO THE ECONOMIC BOYCOTT LAUNCHED AGAINST WHITE MERCHANTS TWO WEEKS AGO.

DESPITE THEIR PLEAS, THERE WERE REPORTS OF ROCKS HURLED AT AUTOMOBILES, AND A GROUP OF NEGRO YOUTHS THREW A MOLOTOV COCKTAIL AT THE BACK OF AN APPLIANCE STORE. A BRICKBAT KNOCKED THE WINDSHIELD OUT OF A CITY TRUCK CLEANING UP THE DEBRIS FROM THE VIOLENCE OF THE PAST TWO DAYS.

THE REV. ANDREW YOUNG, AN ASSISTANT TO DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. OF THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE, URGED NEGROES AT THE MASS MEETING TO HALT THEIR DEMONSTRATIONS TEMPORARILY. SIMILAR PLEAS WERE MADE BY OTHER LEADERS.

-0-

WASHINGTON--THE SENATE COMMERCE COMMITTEE TODAY PROMISED TO INVESTIGATE A CHARGE BY MISSISSIPPI GOV. ROSS BARNETT THAT COMMUNISTS ARE BEHIND THE NATION'S RACIAL STRIFE.

SEVERAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS, HOWEVER, CHALLENGED THE CHARGE ON THE SPOT YESTERDAY AFTER BARNETT SPOKE. THEY SAID RECENT RIOTS AND DEMONSTRATIONS WERE THE DIRECT RESULT OF DENIAL OF EQUAL RIGHTS TO AMERICAN CITIZENS.

SEN. WARREN G. MAGNUSON, D-WASH., THE COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN, TOLD BARNETT THE COMMITTEE WOULD ASK THE FBI TO INVESTIGATE HIS CHARGE. MAGNUSON SAID THE COMMITTEE WOULD NOT BE LED OFF ONTO "TANGENTS" ABOUT WHO WAS BEHIND THE DEMONSTRATIONS.

BARNETT ALSO ACCUSED PRESIDENT KENNEDY AND ATTY. GEN. ROBERT F. KENNEDY OF ENCOURAGING DEMONSTRATIONS THAT COULD RESULT IN BLOOD-SHED.

7/13

*Prepare memo re  
facts and this.*  
*K*

-0-  
COLUMBUS, OHIO--THE FIRST SUIT AIMED AT ENDING ALLEGED SEGREGATION OF A LABOR UNION ON A NATIONAL SCALE HAS BEEN FILED IN FEDERAL COURT HERE. IT WAS ANNOUNCED FRIDAY.

THE SUIT WAS FILED ON BEHALF OF THREE MEMBERS OF LOCAL 589 OF THE GIANT AMERICAN FEDERATION OF MUSICIANS (AFM) INTERNATIONAL UNION.

THE SUIT WAS FILED WEDNESDAY BY ATTORNEY WILLIAM J. DAVIS, BUT IT WAS NOT REVEALED IMMEDIATELY. OFFICIALS SAID, SO PAPERS COULD BE SERVED ON A NEGRO REPRESENTATIVE OF THE INTERNATIONAL, ERNEST V. LEWIS OF BERKELEY, CALIF.

LEWIS ARRIVED THURSDAY TO TESTIFY IN A TRIAL BY THE UNION TO REVOKE THE CHARTER OF LOCAL 589.

THE FEDERAL COURT SUIT SEEKS A MERGER OF THE ALL-WHITE LOCAL 103 AND NEGRO LOCAL 589 HERE, AND ASKS SIMILAR MERGERS IN 36 OTHER CITIES. IT WAS FILED UNDER A PROVISION OF THE LANDRUM-GRIFFIN FEDERAL LABOR ACT FORBIDDING UNLAWFUL RACIAL DISCRIMINATION.

-0-  
TORRANCE, CALIF.--A YEAR-LONG DISPUTE OVER INTEGRATION OF A HOUSING TRACT HERE APPEARED ENDED TODAY WITH THE BUILDER AGREEING TO SELL ONE HOME TO A NEGRO, HIRE A NEGRO SALESMAN AND ADOPT A GENERAL "NO DISCRIMINATION" POLICY.

THE SETTLEMENT WAS REACHED LAST NIGHT AT THE FIRST FACE-TO-FACE MEETING BETWEEN TRACT BUILDER DON WILSON AND LEADERS OF THE NAACP AND THE UNITED CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE.

THE NAACP AND UCRC, THROUGH ITS LOCAL LEADER, DR. CHRISTOPHER TAYLOR, PLEDGED NO FURTHER DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST WILSON'S SOUTHWOOD RIVIERA ROYALE TRACT AND URGED OTHER ORGANIZATIONS TO FOLLOW SUIT.

7/13--TD855AED

-0-

7/16/63

A I R T E L      A I R M A I L

TO:            DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM:        SAC, SAN DIEGO [REDACTED] b(2)b(7)(D)

KARL PRUSSION  
FORMER SECURITY INFORMANT

Re San Diego teletype dated 7/15/63.

There is enclosed a copy of the April-May, 1963,  
issue of "Me Up" containing the article on Page 2 regarding  
MARTIN LUTHER KING, described in referenced teletype.

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 1) (REGISTERED-AM)
- 2 - San Diego

DNG:cja  
(5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-12-80 BY SP4 [signature]  
6070

100-106670-  
NOT RECORDED  
183 JUL 23 1963

File 5 [initials]  
100-106670

ENCLOSURE  
ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

55 JUL 29 1963

ORIGINAL FILED IN

# HEADS UP

*"Dedicated to Fight Communism"*



VOL 2, NO. 7 & 8

P.O. BOX 6519, SAN DIEGO 6, CALIFORNIA

25c

APRIL-MAY, 1963

## Leninists Plan Provocations To Violence— Prepare For Strategic Moment

The following quotation comes from the **Collected Works of Lenin**. It is the bones and sinew of the Communist Conspiracy in our Nation, and IS FUNDAMENTAL AND ELEMENTARY TO EVERY COMMUNIST:

"Take advantage of the clumsiness of the enemy and attack him at the time when he least expects attack. Readiness for action must be constant—thus: Today we are faced with the task of organizing and supporting students to demonstrate; tomorrow, perhaps we may be supporting or leading a movement of the unemployed. But today we must take advantage of a strained political situation; in order to capitalize over public indignation, a boycott, a demonstration, a strike might have to be organized. Only Communists thus trained in action could at a strategic moment issue the call for the decisive battle." (Vol. II, pp. 21-22)

The Communists have meticulously and zealously carried out the above directive for decades. They have chosen the South as the area in which they hope to provoke a violence that could throw our nation into civil strife for their "decisive battle."

Hundreds of identified Communists, therefore, have been colonized in the South to attain this objective. In this long planned Conspiracy, they have been able to win the support, through hidden identity and purpose, of thousands of unwitting Americans.

A few of these clearly identified Communists are: Isobel Cerney, Edwin Cerney, Ed Beck, Harvey Richards, James Dumbrowski, Prof. Harry C. Steinmetz, Dr. Holland Roberts, Aubrey Williams, Carl Braden, Casey Gutwirth, Anne Braden, Frank Donner and Carl Bloise. They work with sadistic joy as their plot materializes step by step far beyond their wildest dreams.

Most Communists work in organizations such as C.O.R.E., N.A.A.C.P., Muslims, S.C.L.C., Southern Conference Educational Fund, and Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. All of these organizations profess to work in the "interest of Southern welfare and especially on behalf of the Negro people." Actually, the American Negro is being used as a pawn by these Soviet conspirators for the pur-

### OUR CHERISHED FREEDOMS ENDANGERED

The defense of the cherished freedoms secured and handed down to us by our forefathers is the responsibility of each American. Knowledge of the enemy, alertness to the danger, and everyday patriotism are the brick and mortar with which we can build an impregnable fortress against Communism. Only the intelligent efforts of all Americans can prevent the decay of public apathy from laying open our Nation to the Red menace.

John Edgar Hoover  
Director, FBI

er aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient organization in the United States.

Communists, such as Carl Bloise, Holland Roberts, Harvey Richards and Ed Beck race back and forth from the South to the North, relating highly dramatized, inflammatory outright lies via the press, radio, movies, podium and television about "police brutality" in the South. In this way they serve their Kremlin masters well. It is their goal, as set forth by their leader, Lenin, to provoke a violent clash between White and Negro citizens in the South of such magnitude that civil strife could inevitably follow in the North and West.

President Kennedy has played into the hands of the revolutionaries by sending "standby" troops to Birmingham. This action condones and stimulates more and larger demonstrative actions and undermines respect for the local law enforcing agencies.

Fortunately for America, the white citizens have not been provoked into violence. They are staying away from the troubled areas, and are leaving the city and state agencies to enforce

## Negro Leader Speaks The Truth

President Kennedy recently, in effect, called for capitulation to the Leninist tactic of demonstrative pressures to attain red objectives, when he stated that we must give and yield to "peaceful revolution without bloodshed" on the civil rights issue.

The entire so-called "Negro Liberation Movement" is a monstrous fraud initiated years ago by the Kremlin. Every citizen should recognize it as such. The President is yielding to the organized, communist-led minority. Any violence, any bloodshed resulting around this issue would stem from communist provocation.

The following statement by a great Negro citizen, Donald Warden, chairman of the Afro-American Association, on June 4, 1963, completely wipes out the left-wing administration attitude on desegregation: "After 100 years of spending millions of dollars, time and energy fighting for desegregation, we still are dropping out and flunking out of school, our welfare dependents are living in slums and are lacking in racial pride and knowledge of our African past. . . look to yourselves and stop trying to emulate the white man. Stop using bleaching creams and hair straighteners. The future of the Afro-American people will depend upon racial pride, initiative, building well planned efficient businesses and factories and reducing crime, alcoholic consumption and dependence on welfare."

He concluded by urging all Negroes to live in dignity and to solve their problems through self-help. He further declared that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has had little effect upon the masses of Afro-Americans.

This profound and brave analysis by this great American is the truth, and applies to all national minority groups; the Negro, the Irish, the Jew, the Pole, the German. The pride, dignity, and initiative of minority groups expressed for generations in our competitive free enterprise system is what has made America by far the greatest nation in the world. Let's keep it that way, Mr. President.

## Luther King, Communist Directed

Martin Luther King, Jr., becoming more arrogant, threw caution to the winds when he used the mailing plates of the Communist National Guardian last month for the distribution of thousands of letters in which he personally appealed for funds for the "solidification of our movement to carry forward the fight . . . deeper into the South."

There should be no doubt, therefore, that Luther King works hand in glove with the revolutionaries, since the National Guardian is described by the "California Committee on Un-American Activities" in 1961 as "a medium for spreading of the most vicious kind of Communist propaganda; this publication ranks with the People's World in California and the Daily Worker in New York. In recent months, it has outstripped both of the others combined in its tirade of Communist propaganda and abuse against our government and our cherished institutions." The National Guardian is also listed as subversive in the "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," issued by the U.S. Government Printing Office, and described as a "virtual official propaganda arm of the Soviet Union."

King, who today represents the epitomy of minority mobocracy pressure, has been associated with more communist and left-wing causes than most Communists. The following are only a few of his associations: Southern Conference Educational Fund, American Committee on Africa, Braden Clemency Appeal (initiator of), Statement Calling for Cancellation of Nuclear Weapons Tests, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Highlander Folk School, Liberation Magazine, National Committee for Sane Nuclear Testing, Committee to Eliminate the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Southern Conference Educational Fund, War Resisters League.

Hunter Pitts O'Dell, dedicated Leninist and former district organizer of the Communist Conspiracy in New Orleans, was recently assigned to a responsible position by Martin Luther King, Jr., within the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. He is reported to be most influential in directing the mass pressure strategy of King in the cause of the communist objective: that of subtly provoking

a violence that could be catastrophic for our Nation.

It is incredible that this man, who megaphones the communist objectives, is daily receiving plaudits and encouragement from our Administration in Washington and Sacramento.

## "Heads Up" Appeal Publication In Need

Contributions are needed to sustain "Heads Up." We are grateful to all who have sent in contributions and subscribed, as a result of our appeal in the last issue. However, the response has not been enough to continue publication much longer.

All labor, such as folding, addressing, writing and filing, is voluntary. In all candor, its costs approximately six hundred dollars to print and mail out each issue and there is a balance of \$158.00 in "Heads Up" account.

"Heads Up" humbly suggests that all those individuals and organizations who are its supporters, as evidenced by the thousands of encouraging letters, enter into a concerted and continuous effort to raise funds and to obtain subscriptions now, and in the immediate future.

BECOME A "HEADS UP" SUPPORTER NOW!!! \$3.00 PER YEAR.

## "CALIFORNIA, DYNASTY OF COMMUNISM"

Became THE 1962 California Election Issue.

The injunction and suit against it has been quashed.

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## U.N. Intervention Red Objective

As we go to press it has been reliably learned from unimpeachable sources that a resolution is soon to be presented to the United Nations Security Council that "it immediately intervene in those areas of the United States in which civil strife is prevalent or imminent."

It is in anticipation of just this possibility that communists, through hidden identity, are quickly directing such organizations as the N.A.A.C.P., the Muslims, the Committee on Racial Equality, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference into the red tactics of mass demonstrations, marches, picketing, strikes, sit-ins, etc., in the densely populated Negro areas of such industrial cities as Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, Detroit, San Francisco and Washington, D.C. It is their purpose to subtly provoke violence through these actions, that could "justify" intervention by the United Nations Police Force.

If this resolution is passed, it could only be blocked by our veto privilege as defined in the United Nations Charter. Will then our Administration veto this action that could destroy our sovereignty as a Nation overnight? If our Nation does not veto, the World Police Force would be brought into action and the United States, as a result, could return to "normalcy" only by the establishment of a "benevolent democratic dictatorship to protect the freedoms of the Negro people."

Is all of this far fetched, or "fright peddling" as Senator Kuchel would have the citizenry believe? No, it is not. This is one of the major functions of the United Nations. And the United States is a "proud" member of this monstrous Soviet inspired institution.

And yet, despite this immediate and obvious threat, right under their very noses, "Good Americans" Gov. Brown, Sen. Kuchel, and Pres. Kennedy assure all Americans that (quote Brown): "The voice of the far left has faded to whisper." If it has "faded to a whisper," it is only because the Governor, the Senator, and the President have, indeed, themselves become representative of the far left.

These men, high in office, this very day are condoning and giving aid and comfort to those who are using the well-planned old communist tactic that could provoke civil strife.

The United Nations, from the beginning, has been organized by the Communist International as its instrumentality for conquest of the United States and the world.

All Americans must immediately intensify their efforts manifold to get the United States out of the United

## Red "Educators" Concentrate In South— Georgia Negro Colleges Main Target

### TARGET SPELMAN COLLEGE

Edwin H. Cerney, communist "art educator," who was dismissed from Stockton College, California, in 1950 for refusing to sign the loyalty oath, is now teaching at Spelman College, Georgia. Cerney, for more than two decades an active foreign agent, is one of the many Reds who have been sent to the South to sow the seeds of Leninism and rebellion amongst students. He has been identified as extremely active in the California Bay Area from 1950 to 1953, at which time he departed, as directed, for Atlanta, Georgia, with his wife, Isobel Cerney, an international communist emissary.

"Red Artist" Cerney, in addition to having been identified as a communist cadre, has been associated with more than two score communist-front organizations.

Accompanying Cerney and residing on the campus is his wife, Isobel Cerney. She has been and is by far the most active agent of the two. She has, over the years, traveled as a communist international emissary throughout the world.

She perjured herself in 1948 when she filed to run for Congress in California when she swore she was not a communist. Her principal activities have been and are today within the varied "peace organizations" such as Women's League for Peace and Freedom (communist front), Sane Nuclear Testing, as well as the "Negro liberation" organizations. She has now, as in the past, together with her husband, become associated with the various Quaker committees. She and her associates at Spelman are active in the varied sit-ins, picketing, marching and demonstrating conducted by the "Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committees."

Professor of "psychology" Harry C. Steinmetz, who was dismissed from San Diego State College, California, in February, 1954, for his Red activities, is now teaching "Soviet" psychology at Spelman. He appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1956, and resorted to the Fifth Amendment when questioned as to his communist party membership. Governor Brown of California, who was at that time the Attorney General, vehemently stated that "teachers who stand on their constitutional rights before witch hunting committees" could not be fired.

Steinmetz, a many-times identified communist, is carrying on his Red-directed tactics at Spelman College very much in the same manner as he has for more than three decades. His activities parallel those of the Cerneys.

Zynn and Foster. Both have been associated with left-wing causes and outright communist front organizations.

### TARGET MOREHOUSE COLLEGE

Professor G. Murray Branch is, unquestionably, the most vociferous left educator at Morehouse College and in the entire Georgia Negro College System. This "red fronter" has over the years been associated with more than 34 different commielline ventures, many of which were outright Red fronts. The following are a few of his documented activities: American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, Committee for the Appeal for Amnesty for Communists Convicted Under the Smith Act, Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, Brief Amici Curiae for the Communist Party, International Workers Order, National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act, National Council for Arts, Sciences and Professions, Southern Conference Educational Fund, Southern Negro Youth Congress.

A close red-fronter at Moorehouse College, to Prof. Branch, is Benjamin E. Mays, who has been closely aligned with more than 32 activities of the left.

Other "educators" who rally around Branch and Mays are Brailford R. Brazeal, John Hope and Rev. Samuel W. Williams.

### TARGET CLARK COLLEGE

The left-wing powerhouse at Clark College is James P. Brawley, active in the Methodist Federation for Social Action, and the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

### TARGET ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

Professor Rufus E. Clement has a long and continuous background of outright communist front activities, principally: American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, American Council on Soviet Relations, Congress on Civil Rights, Southern Negro Youth Congress, Southern Conference Educational Fund, National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions.

Independent Socialist, Lonnie Cross, has widespread influence amongst the student body in his varied left activities.

### TARGET GAMMON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

Working together along the left line at this college are Frank W. Clelland and Charles B. Gopher, having been active in such organizations as the National Federation of Constitutional Liberties, Win the Peace Conference, Southern Conference Educational Fund.

The above documented information on Red concentration in Georgia was gathered by the editor of "Heads Up" during his recent speaking trip through the South. Obviously, these

## Editorial on Civil Rights

Most of the American press has backed the recent demonstrative actions in our Nation for the "civil rights and liberation of the Negro people." The theory, obviously, is that there should be "civil rights for the Negro, but not necessarily for the white citizens. For the "civil rights" for the Negro, is to associate with anyone he pleases, in schools, housing, etc. But the white man's "civil rights" are more limited: he is not to be allowed to decide where he shall live, eat and where his children shall go to school. In short, it is the theory of sacrificing the white citizens on the altar of Negro "rights." This whole theory is of communist origin.

### Negro Progress Rapid

What is the true status of our Negro citizenry? They have made more progress up the economic ladder in the last 100 years than any other race—white, yellow or red—ever made in 1,000 years of history. From a condition of absolute slavery 100 years ago, the Negro citizen has risen to a point where he now fares better than many Europeans—better paid, better housed and better educated. From slavery and ignorance to an economic status superior to the average Frenchman, the average Italian, and the average citizen of West Germany.

### Economic Advances

Today the millions of Negro citizens have a total yearly income of approximately \$25 billion. Statistics of 1958 reveal that the American Negro citizen who worked a full year earned a median income of \$3,308 (it is much more today) meaning that half the Negro workers received more than this and half received less. That is more than the \$2,234 that the average worker in Great Britain received, and more than four times the estimated \$800 that the average worker in the Soviet Union received. Twenty-four years ago the median income for the American Negro was \$639, less than one-fourth what he receives today.

Demonstrative, mass - pressure communist tactics were not responsible for this progress. It was the normal evolutionary process that is derived from our God-given free enterprise system, that rewards through initiative, ingenuity and desire to progress. The Negro citizen has done exceedingly well, and will continue; unless they become involved and engulfed by the revolutionary tactic as employed by Martin Luther King, Jr. and his communist associates. His tactic can lead to the destruction of our free enterprise and with it be-

## BROWN RECALL GAINS SUPPORT

The recall of Governor Brown and Tom Braden was suggested in the last issue of "Heads Up" as a means of ridding the State Administration of a leadership that has flagrantly disregarded the mandate of the citizenry; to scrap the collectivist-socialist type of "progressive" education. The Governor has become an instrumentality of the minority organization, the strong, left-wing, communist generated California Democratic Councils.

He has also established an unchallengeable record of appeasing, collaborating and capitulating to communist objectives as set forth by the California Democratic Councils; and continues to have association with identified communists.

He recently condoned and encouraged the communist tactic of the sit-down demonstration by members of the Committee on Racial Equality, a communist instrumentality. The sit-down in Sacramento is a public nuisance and in violation of the trespassing code. Brown's approval of this Red tactic can set a precedent for similar Red activities that can result in provocation to violence.

"Heads Up" is grateful for the scores of letters from the many citizens who want to start circulating recall petitions at once.

The Ad Hoc Committee will, in the next issue of "Heads Up," call for a conference of all Californians interested in "Good American" Brown's recall. At that time the Ad Hoc Committee will be replaced by a duly elected permanent committee; and the recall movement will be put into gear.

The Governor and the Chairman of the Board of Education can and must be recalled. Citizens interested are urged to continue sending letters to "Heads Up" expressing their willingness to participate.

### RED "EDUCATORS"

(Continued from Page 3, Column 2)  
hundreds who have entrenched themselves in Negro colleges.

The Attorney General of the United States has this information, and much more. Rather than warn and threat Americans in different States of our Union with Federal sanctions, troop-intervention, bloodshed and violence, he should immediately invoke the Walter-McCarran Act. He should subpoena the scores of commiefronters before the Subversive Control Board. Why does he not do this? Because the integration issue is a big political vote media for 1964. The Kennedy administration has thrown its lot in with the left-wing of our Nation and feel that the left-wing can perpetuate them in office in 1964. They, there-

## UNDERCOVER—

The editor is proud to introduce this new column "UNDERCOVER" in tribute to the many undercover agents for the F.B.I. now working under much strain and hardship within the network of the communist conspiracy. They all know that some day they will be called to come forth and testify before many governmental agencies; and in so doing, will subject themselves to vicious social, economic and possible physical attrition generated by communists. Many, who have surfaced, have dropped from the public eye as a defensive media, and some have since perished. "Heads Up" will present one such great American in this column in each issue. It is hoped that citizens knowing the whereabouts of former undercover agents will contact Karl Prussion, Box 6519, San Diego 6, California. They are much needed now in the showdown fight against communism.

### JULIA CLARICE BROWN

Julia Clarice Brown served her country under great duress and with much sacrifice as an undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation from late in the summer of 1951 until May of 1960. She was the principal witness at a hearing held in Washington, D.C., on June 4, 5, 6 and 7, 1962. She, therefore, is the most recent undercover agent to come forth. Her testimony, throughout, completely exposes the fallacy that "there is no threat from within" as expounded repeatedly by Attorney General Kennedy and the many so-called "liberals."

Mrs. Brown's testimony, once again, reveals the total disregard that the communists have for the welfare of the Negro citizenry. She repeatedly pointed out that the communists are ecstatic about Negro problems, and use them to foment hatred and civil strife in our Nation. She vividly describes the communists' carefully planned infiltration into the N.A.A.C.P.

She describes communist methods in fund raising, and the implementation of "united front" tactics, which were prescribed as the "chief task" of the communists at the December 1959 National Communist Party Convention.

Especially interesting and disturbing was her testimony showing communist intrigue relating to the infiltration of church organizations. Mrs. Brown was active in such organizations as the N.A.A.C.P., Sojourners for Truth and Justice, the National Negro Labor Council, the Progressive Party, Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, Bill of Rights Conference.

The activities of more than 100 communists currently and formerly residing in the Cleveland area were described in her testimony.

Her testimony was most productive and of infinite value to America. She resides in California and is daily continuing her fight against communism by lecturing and writing, despite the vicious and cruel economic and social attrition directed against her by the communists and the "intellectual-liberal" element in our Nation.

America owes a great debt to this outstanding citizen, Julia Clarice Brown.

thousands of hidden identity communists who could generate opposition through the "liberal-intellectual" and trade union movement.

Their deductions, as opportunists, are wrong. A slate of candidates, either Republican, Democrat or Independent, that will stand on the prin-

ciples, as set forth by our American Heritage, and come forth in a fight against the subtle communist conspiracy can, must and will win in 1964. All Americans are urged to get into political activities now. The Kennedys and their staunch lackeys must be returned to civilian life in 1964.

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SAN DIEGO 6,  
CALIFORNIA

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 7-16-63

FROM : M. A. Jones

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~SUBJECT: ABNER WINSTON BERRY  
MYLES HORTON  
AUBREY WILLIS WILLIAMSALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIEDDATE 11-12-80 BY SP4 JAM/lu  
6076

A United Press-International News Service release of July 12, 1963, reported Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett displayed a poster-size photograph to the Senate Commerce Committee which he claimed showed Negro leader Dr. Martin Luther King "at a communist training school." Governor Barnett said the picture was taken at the Highlander Folk School of Monteagle, Tennessee, and he identified those in the picture with Dr. King as Abner Berry, Myles Horton and Aubrey Williams. Mr. Tolson noted, "We should check our files."

INFORMATION IN BUFILES:

CLASSIFIED BY SP4 JAM/lu  
EXTENDED BY SP4 JAM/lu  
REASON FOR EXTENSION 2  
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW FOR 7-16-93

1 - Mr. Tolson

-asmg

51 JUL 25 1963

100-106670  
NOT RECORDED  
184 JUL 23 1963

100-106670  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

M. A. Jones to DeLoach  
RE: ABNER WINSTON BERRY

[REDACTED]

C b(1)

On June 20, 1963, Myles Horton identified himself to the FBI as Director of the Highlander Research and Education Center of Knoxville, Tennessee. This is the successor to the Highlander Folk School, originally at Monteagle, Tennessee, of which Horton was also the director. The latter school was supported primarily by donations from individuals and labor unions and it offered courses of instruction in labor organization, social economics and the general field of labor education. It was known to have Communist Party members on its staff and it followed the practice of securing communists as students. It was never known to have offered courses of instructions in communism nor was the Party known to have succeeded in gaining control of the school. There were many allegations that it represented the headquarters for communism in Eastern Tennessee; however, these claims were never substantiated. The Tennessee Courts revoked the Highlander Folk School's charter on the grounds that it violated the criminal laws of the State. A State Charter for the Knoxville School was issued on August 28, 1961.

[REDACTED]

✓ b(1)

M.A. Jones to DeLoach Memo  
RE: ABNER WINSTON BERRY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED]

b(1)

Horton was reported to be listed as one of the speakers for a "Bill of Rights Dinner" which was to be sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee on December 15, 1959.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/2/90 BY SP4 JAM/LL  
6076

UPI-95

ADD 5 CIVIL RIGHTS, WASHINGTON  
CHARGING THAT THE CURRENT WAVE OF CIVIL RIGHTS AGITATION WAS  
COMMUNIST-INSPIRED, BARNETT DISPLAYED A POSTER-SIZED PHOTOGRAPH WHICH  
HE CLAIMED SHOWED NEGRO LEADER DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING "AT A COMMUNIST  
TRAINING SCHOOL."

HE SAID THE PICTURE WAS TAKEN AT THE HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL, MT.  
EAGLE, TENN., BEFORE THE SCHOOL WAS SHUT DOWN BY THE STATE OF  
TENNESSEE AS SUBVERSIVE. HE SAID HE GOT THE PICTURE FROM THE GEORGIA  
STATE COMMISSION ON EDUCATION.

ABOUT 400 PERSONS, PREDOMINANTLY WHITE YOUTHS, PACKED THE HEARING  
ROOM.

THURMOND REPEATEDLY CALLED FOR ORDER AS THE AUDIENCE, OBVIOUSLY  
SYMPATHETIC TO THE PROPOSED LEGISLATION, MOANED OR TITTERED DURING THE  
TESTIMONY.

BARNETT SAID THE PRESIDENT AND THE ATTORNEY GENERAL HAD ENCOURAGED  
DEMONSTRATIONS SUCH AS FREEDOM RIDES AND THE LIKE. HE SAID THE  
PRESIDENT'S RECENT TELEVISED CIVIL RIGHTS ADDRESS TOLD THE NEGRO, IN  
SUBSTANCE, THAT HE HAD NOT BEEN TREATED FAIRLY AND "WHAT ELSE CAN HE  
DO BUT RESORT TO THE STREETS."

HE SAID HE BELIEVED THERE HAD BEEN MORE SUCH ACTIVITY IN THE WEEKS  
SINCE THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH. MONRONEY, WHO CALLED ON BARNETT TO  
BACK UP HIS CHARGES, SAID HE DISAGREED "STRONGLY" WITH THE GOVERNOR'S  
STATEMENT.

MONRONEY SAID HE DID NOT THINK THE PRESIDENT'S COMMENTS COULD BE  
READ AS ENCOURAGING DEMONSTRATIONS. HE SAID HE ALSO DISAGREED WITH  
BARNETT'S CONCLUSION THAT CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVITY WAS COMMUNIST-INSPIRED.  
BARNETT REPLIED BY PRODUCING THE PHOTOGRAPH.

MONRONEY ASKED BARNETT WHETHER HE HAD EVER SOUGHT INFORMATION FROM  
FBI DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER OR FROM OTHER AUTHORITIES SUCH AS THE  
HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UNAMERICAN ACTIVITIES ON THE BACKGROUND OF  
CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS. BARNETT SAID THAT HE HAD "NO EVIDENCE" FROM  
HOOVER, BUT SUGGESTED THAT THE COMMITTEE ASK HOOVER WHETHER SOME OF  
THOSE PICTURED WITH KING WERE COMMUNISTS.

BARNETT IDENTIFIED THOSE IN THE PICTURE WITH KING AS AUDREY  
WILLIAMS, DIRECTOR OF THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATION FUND OF  
NEW ORLEANS; ABNER BERRY, A NEGRO, AND MYLES HORTON, A FORMER DIRECTOR  
OF THE SCHOOL.

MONRONEY SAID CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVITY COULD NOT BE "SWEEPED UNDER THE  
RUG" AS COMMUNIST-INSPIRED. BARNETT AGREED, AS DID THURMOND, THAT SOME  
OF THE DEMONSTRATORS WERE SINCERE, BUT HE REPEATED HIS CLAIM THAT  
CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVITIES WERE "INSPIRED BY THE COMMUNISTS."

7/12--GE154P

*we should check our files*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : W. C. Sullivan

FROM : J. F. Bland

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING  
SECURITY MATTER - C  
RACIAL MATTERS

1 - Belmont  
1 - Mohr  
1 - DeLoach  
1 - Evans  
1 - Rosen  
1 - Sullivan

DATE: July 13, 1963

1 - Bland  
1 - McGowan  
1 - Forsyth

Tolson  
Belmont  
Casper  
Callahan  
Conrad  
DeLoach  
Evans  
Gale  
Rosen  
Sullivan  
Tavel  
Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Holmes  
Gandy

The "Evening Star" of 7/12 and the "Washington Post" of 7/13/63 state that Governor Ross R. Barnett of Mississippi testified on 7/12/63 before the Senate Commerce Committee in opposition to a proposed public accommodations bill.

According to the newspapers, Governor Barnett, during his testimony, held up a printed sheet containing a picture and titled "Martin Luther King at Communist Training School." Governor Barnett said the picture showed King and some persons identified on the sheet as communists at a school in Tennessee. In this connection, Senator Mike Monroney (D - Oklahoma) asked Governor Barnett if he had checked the picture and the printed allegations with the FBI. Governor Barnett said he had not but suggested that the Committee might want to do so.

This printed sheet is undoubtedly a flier which consists of a picture of a group of individuals seated in an auditorium, one of whom is Martin Luther King, and actually relates to a 1957 Labor Day week end seminar at the Highlander Folk School (HFS), Monteagle, Tennessee, which was attended by King. According to a publication circulated extensively by the Georgia Commission on Education, which allegedly had an "undercover" agent in attendance, the seminar "was held to discuss methods and tactics for precipitating racial strife and disturbances." The publication further characterized the HFS as a "communist training school."

FBI files concerning the HFS show that this school was the subject of a security investigation which was closed in 1943. Information was developed that Communist Party (CP) members had been on the school staff and the school had followed the practice of welcoming communists as students. No information was developed that the school offered courses of instruction on communism nor that the CP ever succeeded in gaining control of the school. Due to its interracial character, however, the HFS has been the subject of numerous past allegations that it represents the headquarters for communism in Eastern Tennessee.

JFB:ams  
(10)

REC-9 100-106670-160

6076

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-6-80 BY SP4JMA

2 AUG 14 1963

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
Re: MARTIN LUTHER KING

On 6/28/63 Departmental attorneys in preparing material for the Attorney General asked concerning this flier and were referred to the above information concerning the flier as furnished to the Attorney General on 5/23/61.

The Bureau has not been asked for any information concerning the flier by the Senate Committee; however, press inquiries have been received concerning the matter and have been answered "No Comment" by Mr. DeLoach's Office.

ACTION:

None. For information.

9/24/63  
9/24/63  
DP  
BL

V

# Red 'Rights Plot' Seen By Barnett

## Negro Movement Called Conspiracy To Divide Nation

By Richard L. Lyons  
Staff Reporter

Gov. Ross R. Barnett of Mississippi charged yesterday that Negro demonstrations for equal rights are "largely Communist-inspired," part of a world conspiracy "to divide and conquer our country from within."

He also told the Senate Commerce Committee that President Kennedy and his brother, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, have encouraged demonstrations and are "sowing the seeds of hate and violence" from which the Nation "could reap a bloody harvest."

Barnett was challenged by Democrats on the Committee on both counts, and was chided by Chairman Warren G. Magnuson (D-Wash.) as being "off base" in equating the merits of legislations with the views of some who profess to be for it.

The Governor, symbol of all-out resistance to desegregation, was invited by Sen. Strom Thurmond (D-S. C.) to testify on the President's bill to bar discrimination in public accommodations. Barnett said its passage would mean the "complete end of constitutional government in America" and "racial violence of unimaginable scope."

### Monroney Disagrees

Sen. A. S. Mike Monroney (D-Okla.) was the first to strongly disagree with Barnett that the President or Attorney General were encouraging demonstrations or sowing hatred.

Barnett said he based that on the President's civil rights speech to the Nation last month, which Barnett interpreted as encouraging demonstrations. Monroney asked for proof that a Communist conspiracy is behind the Negroes' fight for rights.

Barnett held up a printed sheet containing a picture and titled "Martin Luther King at Communist Training School." Barnett said the picture showed King and some persons identified on the sheet as Communists at a school in Tennessee.

Monroney asked Barnett if he had checked the picture and the printed allegations with the FBI. Barnett said he had not, but suggested that the Committee might want to do so.

"I feel it does a great disservice," said Monroney, "to try to brush off these demonstrations as part of a foreign conspiracy. I don't think this Committee feels there is a

See RIGHTS, A4, Col 3

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-12-80 BY SP4JAW/L

6076

PA-1  
The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Post \_\_\_\_\_  
The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_  
The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
Date 7/13/63

RIGHTS—From Page A1

## Negro Demonstrations Largely Red-Inspired, Barnett Charges

Communist conspiracy involved.

Thurmond said he was one member of the Committee who did believe a Communist conspiracy was behind the civil rights movement, but he added he believed many "sincere" people also have taken part in demonstrations.

Sen. Philip A. Hart (D-Mich.) said he hoped the hearing was not "creating an atmosphere this country experienced within the memory of

everyone in this room"—a reference to the Communist-hunting McCarthy era of the early 1950s.

"That was a tragic period and should not be repeated," said Hart. "The witness says he does not know that Martin Luther King is a Communist, but it will raise doubts in the minds of some. I would walk with Martin Luther King. I hope that would not make me suspect."

Magnuson asked:

"What do demonstrations or pictures have to do with my decision on a matter I have thought about for years? What if demonstrations were inspired by the Communist Party, the John Birch Society or the Elks Club? What do they have to do with my honest convictions? Some great churchmen have demonstrated. If no one demonstrated, people might think there was no interest in the issue."

Barnett argued that a public accommodations law would be unconstitutional.

"Every citizen has the right to own and operate his own business as he sees fit without interference from any source," said Barnett. "The legitimate purpose of government is to protect a man's home as his castle. Does not this same basic American constitutional fact of life apply equally to a man's private business?"

He told of a woman in Winaona, Miss., who operated a restaurant in a bus terminal. Ordered to desegregate it, she tried but both whites and Negroes stopped eating there. She was forced to close and has \$20,000 worth of equip-

ment on her hands, said Barnett.

Racial questions should be left to the states, said Barnett.

"If New York wants to integrate and end up with a mongrel race, that's their business," said the Governor. If Mississippi prefers segregation to "preserve the purity of the races," that should be its business, he said.

Sen. Winston L. Prouty (R-Vt.) said that if Communists were trying to use the race issue, wouldn't it be better to guarantee Negroes' rights and remove this weapon? No, said Barnett.

Hart said the civil rights struggle has taken a new turn because demonstrations have destroyed the argument that Negroes are satisfied and like segregation.

Barnett answered that a Jackson, Miss., Negro recently told him: "Governor, if you spend one Saturday night on Farrish st. (Negro night life center) you would never want to be a white man again."

James J. Kilpatrick, editor of the Richmond News Leader and vice chairman of the Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government, also testified against the public accommodations bill. He questioned the constitutionality of Federal regulation of private business, regardless of how desirable it might be considered.

Despite talk of wanting to exempt little establishments, the main thrust of the bill is bound to be against the "Mrs. Murphys," said Kilpatrick, because the big restaurants, hotels and stores are desegregating rapidly.



United Press International

Mississippi's Gov. Ross Barnett, at left, is shown with Sen. John Stennis (D-Miss.) as the governor prepared to testify before the Senate Commerce Committee yesterday in opposition to a proposed public accommodations bill.

Hon. Warren Magnuson  
U.S. Senate  
Wash., D. C.  
Dear Senator Magnuson

P Y

Blairsville, Ga  
1963

EDGAR HOOVER

JEFFERSON - RESE

REAR OF IN

I have noted from news items in Atlanta papers, your expressed intention to ask the FBI to investigate charges that the Rev. Martin Luther King has had association & support from Communists in his Southern Christian Leadership Conference & his voter registration schools off-shoot. In this regard, feeling that you will wish to fully explore this as a service to our country, I wish to offer the following leads for such investigation:

- 1- Unless I am mistaken, the Southern Conference Education Fund (an outgrowth of old Southern Conference for Human Welfare) cited as Communist Front... the present Southern Regional Council having been established by some of the same people) is, or was (before Bobby) on the Subversive list of the Justice Dept. & if I remember correctly, Rev. King is one of its participants.
- 2- About a year ago, an article appeared in the Atlanta newspapers indicating that Rev. King was calling on the President to pardon a gentleman from Louisville, Ky who had been sentenced to serve in Federal Prison, for denying in the face of contrary evidence before a Congressional (or Senate) Committee that he was, or had been a member of the Communist Party. At the same time Rev King was laudatory of this gentleman (whose name as I recall is Carl Braden... this can be checked by FBI) of the assistance given him by this party in setting up his sit-in, kneel-in & wade-in programs & demonstrations.
- 3- Karl Prussion, former FBI Agt. is authority for the charge that Rev. King is a member of some 60 communist front organizations. This does not mean that King IS a communist, but could indicate that he is helping them & they are using him.
- 4- Earlier this year, Atlanta Newspapers made public the fact that one of King's top aids, whose name I do not recall, but appeared in either or both the Atlanta Journal & Atlanta Constitution... which FBI can check out, was a communist AFTER which, Rev. King made a public display of asking his resignation.
- 5- You may also wish to ask for investigation of one Jack H. O'Dell (said to have been born as Hunter Pitts O'Dell in Detroit) said to have formerly been Executive Director of Southern Christian Leadership Conference... now said to be Project Staff Consultant in one of King's 'voter registration training school' in Liberty County, Ga. Oct. 26, 1962, the St. Louis Globe-Democrat reported that O'Dell, then Exec. Dir. So. Christian Leadership Conference, "operates as a concealed member of the National Committee of the Communist Party" & "That document seized in O'Dell's residence in New Orleans clearly establish ~~Mr~~ O'Dell's key position in the Communist Party movement"
- 6- that working with O'Dell in same voter training school, is Mrs Septima Clark formerly of Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tenn, which one Paul Grouch, reformed communist testified before your Senate Internal Security Subcommittee was 'actually working in close cooperation with the Communist Party' I think the FBI will find that Rev King, Rev. Shuttlesworth & other leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference were frequently in attendance at Highlander 'training courses'.
- 7- I think you will find in the records of your investigation committees, testimony of Louis F. Budenz, reformed Communist... whose book 'Techniques of Communism' stated that the negro was the focal point in the Communist plans for taking over this country, that they would have the fight half won when they succeeded in convincing the Negro that he had been oppressed by whites for hundreds of years... & that the Communists had succeeded in penetrating the N.A.A.C.P.
- 8- Last night over NBC News of the World broadcast, I understood Morgan Beatty to say, in reporting on Gov. Wallace's testimony that King's organization's are Communist influenced, that News of the World information on this tends to bear this out.

While you can expect cries of 'guilt by association, I still think ~~that~~ Espp was right in 'birds of a feather flock together' & where there is so much smoke, there must be some fire.

Sincerely

P.S. Since FBI is under Justice Dept. & King &

Atty. Gen'l seem to be such buddies, I am wondering if you would not find it

1963

b7(c)

Blairsville, Ga

FBI

Date: July 13, 1963

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, BIRMINGHAM (67-0)

**BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA  
INFORMATION CONCERNING**

Reference is made to Birmingham airtel dated 5/22/63 entitled, "UNKNOWN SUBJECTS; THREAT TO BOMB DOWNTOWN BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA, THURSDAY NIGHT, MAY 23, 1963, AT 9:30 P.M.; BOMBING MATTERS."

The above-mentioned airtel mentions captioned individual [REDACTED] 7/10/63, [REDACTED] b7(c) called the Birmingham Office and advised that she noticed in the press where U. S. Congressman, KENNETH ROBERTS of Alabama, is going to investigate REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING and his connection with Communists. She said she has written Congressman GEORGE HUDDLESTON, who is a personal friend, and urged him to talk to MR. ROBERTS and tell him to move slowly in this field because the FBI may have an investigation under way. She said she wanted to let us know what she had done in order that we might be abreast of the situation. She said she feels that the FBI in Washington will be contacted by either Congressman ROBERTS or HUDDLESTON.

[REDACTED] said that during the recent racial trouble in Birmingham she was told that there was a white Cuban refugee in Birmingham. She said she feels that the Cubans may have some connection with Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING and "the Communists." She could offer no specific reason why she felt this way or any evidence to support the statement. In referring to "the Communists," she said she meant Communists in the United States.

③-Bureau (AM)  
2-Birmingham (1-67-0)  
CBS:rte (1 - 157-263)  
(5)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

JUL 25 1963

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-16-81 BY SP4 JMB/ML

XEROX  
JUL 22 1963

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 157-2-41

100-126670-75  
10 JUL 15 1963

BH 67-0

[REDACTED] also advised that during the recent racial trouble in Birmingham there were several Negro employees of the Vestavia Country Club who seemed to have quite a bit of money and some of them told a friend of hers, whom she would not identify, that things would be different when "the revolution comes." b7(c)

On May 22, 1963, [REDACTED] told Agents of the Birmingham Office that she had been under the care of a psychiatrist for the past six years because she has vecerative colitis and she felt that this was due to emotional or nervous trouble. b7(c)

[REDACTED] Birmingham, [REDACTED] was interviewed on 5/22/63 inasmuch as [REDACTED] stated [REDACTED] was [REDACTED] in Birmingham and she had told [REDACTED] about the threat to bomb downtown Birmingham. At the time [REDACTED] was interviewed, he stated that he knows [REDACTED] and does not consider information coming from her to be reliable. He said that she has been under the care of a psychiatrist for the past several years. b7(c)

In view of the none-specific nature of the information furnished by [REDACTED] and the fact that [REDACTED] said that he does not consider information coming from her as reliable, Birmingham will take no further action in this matter and the above is being furnished to the Bureau as information in the event Congressman HUDDLESTON or Congressman ROBERTS contacts the Bureau. b7(c)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-6-80 BY SP4 JAK/ML

The Attorney General  
6076

Director, FBI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1 - Mr. Belmont

1 - Mr. Mohr

1 - Mr. DeLoach

1 - Mr. Evans

1 - Mr. Sullivan

July 18, 1963

1 - Mr. M.A. Jones

1 - Mr. Baumgardner

1 - Mr. Bland

1 - Section Tickler

1 - Mr. Garner

INTERMEDIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF *DeLoach*  
DATE 11/11/80

FROM SENATOR WARREN G. MAGNUSON

AND CONGRESSMAN JEFFERY COHELAN

RE: CURRENT RACIAL AGITATION

Enclosed are letters from Senator Warren G. Magnuson and Congressman Jeffery Cohehan, which are self-explanatory. I have informed each by letter this date that I am referring his letter to you for your consideration in line with Departmental policy. Copies of my letters in this regard are also attached.

As you will note, each letter transmitted a leaflet containing a photograph of Martin Luther King and others purportedly in attendance at a seminar at the Highlander Folk School over the Labor Day weekend in 1957 and requested information pertinent to the validity of the leaflet.

Information concerning the school and those identified in the leaflet with a long list of names, including William Williams, and Ayles Horton--was furnished to you by letter dated July 17, 1963, captioned "Martin Luther King, Security Matter-C, Racial Matters."

For your additional information, newspaper articles indicate that the Georgia Commission on Education, which is the legislative investigating body of the State of Georgia, sent a photographer named Edwin Friend to the Labor Day, 1957, weekend seminar at the Highlander Folk School. He reportedly took both still and motion pictures of the individuals and activities there on that occasion. The Commission later published these photographs in a large folder and is known to have circulated them within a month of the Labor Day meeting.

Berry, in a column in the September 16, 1957, issue of the "Daily Worker," an east coast communist newspaper, stated that he had attended the weekend seminar at the Highlander Folk School over the Labor Day weekend, 1957. Berry stated that Martin Luther King and Aubrey Williams also attended this seminar.

Tolson  
Belmont  
Mohr  
Casper  
Callahan  
Conrad  
DeLoach

ODB/aab  
(15)

NOTE:

See memo, Smith to Sullivan, 7/18/63 re: REQUESTS FROM SENATOR WARREN G. MAGNUSON & CONGRESSMAN JEFFERY COHELAN CONCERNING CURRENT RACIAL AGITATION. RSG/aab

Gale  
Rosen  
Sullivan  
Tavel  
Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Holmes  
Gandy

XEROX

JUL 22 1963

72 JUL 23 1963

TELETYPE UNIT

SEE NOTE ON PAGE TWO RE CLASSIFICATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Attorney General

A Washington Capital News Service dispatch for July 12, 1963, quoted Martin Luther King as stating that his only visit to the Highlander Folk School was for a speech he had made at the school's 36th Anniversary celebration in 1957. He added that the picture of him at the school which had been displayed by Governor Ross Barnett, of Mississippi, to the Senate Committee on Commerce on July 12, 1961, apparently was taken during this visit.

Enclosures (6)

1 - The Deputy Attorney General - Enclosures (6)

1 - Mr. Burke Marshall - Enclosures (6)  
Assistant Attorney General

NOTE:

This letter is classified Confidential since it contains information furnished from confidential informants whose revelation could cause harm to the national defense.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EX-136 REC-36

July 12, 1963

Tuscumbia, Alabama

Dear [REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-6-80 BY SP4J Rm/LW

6076

I have received your letter of July 7th, with enclosures, and I want to thank you for your interest in my article, "Communist 'New Look,' A Study In Duplicity."

With respect to the material forwarded by you, the FBI being an investigative agency of the Federal Government neither makes evaluations nor draws conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. Therefore, I trust you will understand why I am unable to comment along the lines you requested.

In response to your inquiry, I am enclosing some literature on the topic of communism which contains suggestions all of us can use in combating this menace. I regret that this Bureau does not have a list of communist publications and organizations available for distribution. However, included in the material being forwarded is a copy of the list of organizations which have been cited as subversive by the Department of Justice of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

In addition, you may also wish to refer to my books, "Masters of Deceit" and "A Study of Communism." The former was written with the hope that it would help its readers gain an insight into the true nature of communist activities. The latter is a comprehensive study of the development and expansion of communism throughout the world. They may be available at your local library.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

DTP:m5 (3)  
Enclosures (5)  
JUL 23 1963

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

[REDACTED] b7(c)

Enclosures (5)

AG List

4-61 LEB Intro

Let's Fight Communism Sanely!

The Communist Party Line

The Current Communist Threat

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. His enclosures pertain to Walter Reuther's alleged memorandum urging the Attorney General to take steps against extreme right and reprimand the Director, along with a newspaper clipping showing Martin Luther King and others at a meeting. This clipping and Reuther's alleged memo are well known to the Bureau.

[REDACTED]  
Tuscumbia, Alabama  
July 7, 1963

67(c)

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Evans	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Sir;

I am enclosing a picture and an article, both of which were printed recently in a local daily newspaper. If these two items are correct, what can any patriotic American expect in the years to come? Is it not the law that a Communist must register as such? Are these men in this picture registered as Communists? Is the Attorney General trying to quash any effort to keep this republic free from the Communist conspiracy? These questions are being asked every day by a growing number of Americans who are becoming aware of our government's soft approach toward Communism.

It would be a pleasure to see these men, every one mentioned in these two articles, denounced publicly by your office. Their names should be published in every newspaper in the country, so that every American who wishes to see this nation remain free will know their connections with the Communist party.

I have read your report; "Communist 'New Look', a Study in Duplicity", and I would like to have any other reports and pamphlets about the Communist conspiracy that you may send. I would like to have a list of Communist publications, Communist-front organizations, The Attorney General's List of Subversive Organizations while it is still in print, and I especially would like to know what I may do, as an individual, to aid in combatting Communism.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-16-80 BY SP4 JMD

Respectfully yours,

67(c)

6076

REC-36

100-186670-156

EX-136

6 JUL 1963

8  
[REDACTED]  
Tuscumbia, Alabama

b7c/



Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington 25, D. C.

THE AUGUSTA COURIER, JUNE 17, 1963

# MARTIN LUTHER KING....AT COMMUNIST TRAINING SCHOOL



PICTURED (FOREGROUND),

MARTIN LUTHER KING OF THE MONTGOMERY BOYCOTT AND THE BIRMINGHAM RIOTS, BACKED UP BY THE KENNEDYS;

ABNER W. BERRY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY;

AUBREY WILLIAMS, PRES. OF THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATION FUND, INC., THE TRANSMISSION BELT IN THE SOUTH FOR THE COMMUNIST PARTY;

MYLES HORTON, DIRECTOR OF HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL FOR COMMUNIST TRAINING, MONTEAGLE, TENN.

THESE "FOUR HORSEMEN" OF RACIAL AGITATION HAVE BROUGHT TENSION, DIS-  
URBANCE, STRIFE AND VIOLENCE IN THEIR ADVANCEMENT OF THE COMMUNIST  
DOCTRINE OF "RACIAL NATIONALISM."

REPRINT FROM GEORGIA COMMISSION ON EDUCATION

the Fall of 1961 Walter Reuther, Pres. of the United Auto Workers Union and Vice President of L-CIO, was asked by Attorney Gen. Robert Kennedy to write a memorandum on what should be /with the conservatives and anti-communists in the U.S. The resulting book is called "24-page reprint for action against Extremists". It was given to all members of Kennedy's staff and cabinet and leading Senators & Congressmen friendly to Kennedy. It lists 5 immediate steps: 1. Servicemen in the Armed Forces friendly to anti-Communist organizations should be pointed out and censured. (It is to include public humiliation of men like Gen. Arthur, Gen. Walker, Gen. Van Fleet.) 2. The Attorney General no longer should print the annual "subversive list" because 'the radical right uses this to their advantage! 3. As "there are a source of power to the Radical Right, action to dam up these funds may be the quickest way to turn the tide now running in their favor." (I am quoting from the actual document, again here.) Reuther admits public opinion favors the anti-communist position, so therefore an effort must be made to shut up the anti-communist spokesmen. Then anybody who contributes to an anti-communist cause should be made a public example. Their names should "be published, their annual tax reports should be examined by Internal Revenue Service"; any radio or TV station carrying anti-communist programs should be 'checked' to see if they can be made to lose their licenses. 4. Immediate steps should be taken to abolish anti-Communist organizations. (You will notice there are no "civil rights" for conservatives!) 5. FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover should be reprimanded! And Kennedy must use all forms of communication to assure the American people that there is no threat from internal communism. Since Reuther has more money to spend than Republican and Democratic Parties together, you can see the power of the

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
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2 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) b(1) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) \_\_\_\_\_, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); \_\_\_\_\_ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

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☐ For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
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☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

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FBI

Date: 7/6/63

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL Regular  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, NEWARK (157-NEW) P

SUBJECT: REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING,  
SCHEDULED SPEECH AT  
HACKENSACK, N. J.,  
JULY 14, 1963  
RACIAL MATTERS  
OO: Newark

-----

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies, and for the information of Birmingham, one copy, of a letterhead memo captioned and dated as above.

One copy of the enclosed memorandum is being furnished to INTC, 108th Region, Newark, N. J.

Newark will keep the Bureau advised of pertinent developments.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 1-6-80 BY SP4 JRM/lu  
6076

3-Bureau (Encls. 8) RE  
1-Birmingham (Encl. 1) (Info)  
2-Newark  
(1-100-33423) (NAACP)  
ARB:rac  
(6)

REC-72

10 JUL 8 1963

EX-102

C C. Wick  
Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Newark, New Jersey  
July 6, 1963

REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING,  
SCHEDULED SPEECH AT HACKENSACK,  
NEW JERSEY, JULY 14, 1963

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] advised that he had heard that Reverend Martin Luther King planned to address a rally in Hackensack, New Jersey, in mid July. b7(D)

[REDACTED]  
Hackensack, New Jersey, advised that a permit had been issued to a representative of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for a rally to be held at the Hackensack High School athletic field at 2 PM on Sunday, July 14, 1963. [REDACTED] advised that according to the permit application, the principal speaker was to be Reverend Martin Luther King and the purpose was to raise funds for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which Reverend King heads. b7(D)

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-6-00 BY SP4 JMM/ML  
6076

*Next. Attorney  
Husband advised  
9:40P 7-8-63  
→ D*

*me*

# DECODED COPY

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Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☒ RADIO ☐ TELETYPE

URGENT 7-8-63  
TO DIRECTOR  
FROM SAC ATLANTA 081854

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., RM.

*b7(D)*

ATLANTA, ADVISED MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., WYATT TEE WALKER, AND RALPH ABERNATHY, OFFICIALS OF SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE, HOLD THE FOLLOWING ELIGHT RESERVATIONS: LEAVE ATLANTA JULY 8, VIA DELTA FLIGHT 723, 6:10 PM EST, ARRIVE BIRMINGHAM 5:45 PM, CST. LEAVE BIRMINGHAM JULY 9 VIA DELTA FLIGHT 428, 11:50 AM, CST, ARRIVE MEMPHIS 9:01 PM, CST. LEAVE MEMPHIS JULY 10 VIA DELTA FLIGHT 845, 10:21 AM, CST, ARRIVE ATLANTA 12:17 PM, EST. LEAVE ATLANTA JULY 10, VIA EASTERN FLIGHT 328, 3:55 PM, CST, ARRIVE GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA, 7:04 PM, CST.

ABOVE FOR INFO ONLY.

RECEIVED: 5:21 PM JPL

REC-57

100-106670-1511

EX-108

6 JUL 9 1963

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-6-80 BY SP4 JAM/ML

6076

*119*  
*032*  
60 JUL 17 1963

REC-2

27

July 1, 1963

100-106670-153

ENCLOSURE

[REDACTED]

Meridian, Mississippi

b7(c)

Dear [REDACTED]

Mr. Hoover received your letter of June 25th and asked me to advise you that information in the files of the FBI is confidential pursuant to regulations of the Department of Justice. You should not infer that this Bureau does or does not have data indicating that Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., has been a member of any communist front.

It is also to be noted that Mr. Karl Prussion does not have access to information in the records of the FBI and his comments do not in any way represent this Bureau.

Sincerely yours,

Helen W. Gandy  
Secretary

NOTE: Bufiles indicate that correspondent [REDACTED] and in 1961 allegedly was a front man for a group of twenty individuals who planned to blow up a freedom ride bus [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] of the New Orleans Office, correspondent and another individual were attempting to organize a Klan group. Statements connected with Karl Prussion usually identify him as a former undercover Agent of the FBI. He was a Bureau informant of the San Francisco Office until discontinued in 1958 when he disclosed his status to a newspaperman (c)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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TELETYPE UNIT

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FBI

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IBF

US 6/28/63

b7(c)

Meridian, Mississippi.  
June 25, 1963

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation,  
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

It has been reported that the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., belongs to at least sixty Communist-front organizations, this was reported from the Augusta Georgia Courier by Mr. Karl Prussion. Can this be verified and to what organizations does he refer?.

Thanking you, I am

Sincerely yours,

[Redacted signature]

b7(c)

7

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-16-80 BY SP4 JPM/ML  
6076

REC-72

100-106670-153

27

EX-11

CONFIDENTIAL

H 1

FEDERAL

~~SECRET~~ INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE NEW YORK	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 6/28/63	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 3/27 - 6/24/63	Secret
TITLE OF CASE HUNTER PITTS O'DELL aka  MARTIN LUTHER KING		REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7(c)	TYPED BY dmo	
		CHARACTER OF CASE  INTERNAL SECURITY - C; INTERNAL SECURITY ACT - 1950		

## REFERENCE:

Report of SA [REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

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b7(c)  
4/1/63, New York. 116W  
CLASSIFIED AND SP4 JRM/ik  
EXTENDED BY 2  
REASON FOR EXTENSION  
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW FOR  
DECLASSIFICATION 6.28.83  
607b

## ADMINISTRATIVE:

APPROVED	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE:		100-106878-250 NOT RECORDED 150 JUL 25 1963 DATE 11/10/77 Classified by 6082 Exempt from GDS Category 2 Date of Declassification Indefinite Secret	
(4) - Bureau (100-358916) (RM) 1 - Atlanta (100-6078) (Info.) (RM) 3 - New York (100-91330)		APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF 100-106878-250	
DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT		NOTATIONS	
AGENCY			
REQUEST RECD.			
DATE FWD.			
HOW FWD.			
BY			

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-358916

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
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Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.



Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) \_\_\_\_\_, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); \_\_\_\_\_ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

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For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
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~~SECRET~~

ADMINISTRATIVE (CONT'D):

b(2) b7(D)

On 6/4/63, [REDACTED] furnished information concerning a telephone call to STANLEY LEVISON from MARTIN LUTHER KING. They discussed promotion being planned by "The Saturday Evening Post" for an article on KING which was to appear in the coming issue of the magazine. They also discussed whether the tone of the article would be friendly or unfriendly. In this connection, KING said that the interviewer, "...raised a lot of questions about Jack and that kind of thing. He kept prying into that". KING also stated, "...this had been in the press and he could have been just trying to clear it up...he raised some of the critical questions that people raise...." U

It is believed that the JACK referred to is JACK O'DELL, it being noted that publicity had appeared in newspapers in October, 1962, detailing O'DELL's CP background and his relationship with the SCLC. However, this information is not being reported in the details of this report because of the inability of the informant to identify the JACK referred to or the matter that had been in the press. U

[REDACTED] U b7(D)

[REDACTED] U b7(c) b7(D)

One copy of this report is being designated for the information of the Atlanta Office because of its interest in O'DELL, KING and the SCLC. U

Part I of this report contains information from admissible sources and Part II from inadmissible sources. U

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-91330

ADMINISTRATIVE (CONT'D):

The Special Agents who observed O'DELL leaving the building at 488 Saint Nicholas Avenue, NYC, on 6/4/63, were SAS [REDACTED] b7(c)

The log reflecting this surveillance is filed in New York file 100-91330-Sub A.

C  
b(1)

[REDACTED]

LEAD:

NEW YORK

At New York, N.Y.

Will follow and report O'DELL's activities in the New York City area.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~Secret~~

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

## Copy to:

Report of:

Date:

6/28/63

Office: New York, New York

Field Office File No.:

100-91330

Bureau File No.: 100-358916

Title:

HUNTER PITTS O'DELL

Character:

INTERNAL SECURITY - C;  
INTERNAL SECURITY ACT - 1950

## Synopsis:

O'DELL is still residing at 488 Saint Nicholas Avenue, NYC, and is employed by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in NYC. O'DELL, in his work for the SCLC, is in contact with STANLEY LEVISON. ESTHER JACKSON, wife of JAMES JACKSON, has been in touch with O'DELL, and is aware of his residence and employment.

## DETAILS:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

P -

11-6-80  
CLASSIFIED AND  
EXTENDED BY SP4 JRM/mt  
REASON FOR EXTENSION 2  
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW FOR  
DECLASSIFICATION 6-28-83  
6026

PART IA. Residence

On June 4, 1963, O'DELL was observed by Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) leaving the building at 488 Saint Nicholas Avenue, New York City.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

Classified by

Exempt from GDS Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

led/ez 11/10/77

Authentic

~~Secret~~

NY 100-91330

B. Employment

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] E. J. Creeden Company, 118 East 25th Street, New York City, advised that O'DELL had contacted him [REDACTED] and had called him [REDACTED] concerning mailings of a reprint of an article by MARTIN LUTHER KING and an issue of a Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) Newsletter which the Creeden Company was handling under instruction from O'DELL. [REDACTED] stated that O'DELL continues to handle mailing procedures for the SCLC as the person in charge of the New York Office of the SCLC. b7(c)

[REDACTED] advised that O'DELL has been in contact with him concerning mailing lists which the Creeden Company maintains for use in mailings for the SCLC. b(1)

[REDACTED] b7(D)

[REDACTED] b7(D)

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

b7(D)

[REDACTED]

b7(D)

PART II

[REDACTED] that on that date, JACK O'DELL and STANLEY LEVISON discussed funds that had been raised for the SCLC. *B*

b(1)

[REDACTED] that STANLEY LEVISON is a secret member of the Communist Party (CP), USA. *B*

b(1)

[REDACTED] that STANLEY LEVISON had requested JACK O'DELL to represent the SCLC at a meeting of the Ghandi Society for Human Rights. *B*

b(1)

[REDACTED] that MARTIN LUTHER KING had requested STANLEY LEVISON that LEVISON, along with JACK O'DELL, get some statistics on the annual income of the average Negro family as compared with the annual income of the average white family on a national level as well as for some Southern states such as Alabama. LEVISON promised that he and O'DELL would attempt to obtain these statistics. *B*

b(1)

[REDACTED] that STANLEY LEVISON, on June 9, 1963, inquired from O'DELL whether he had located the statistics which KING had requested. O'DELL said he would send these statistics to KING. *B*

b(1)

[REDACTED] continued that O'DELL and LEVISON also discussed the total contributions that have been made to the SCLC which O'DELL estimated to be in the neighborhood of \$100,000. They next discussed the proposal made by the National Council of Churches to establish a commission to assist KING in his fight for racial equality. *B*

b(1)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Secret~~

NY 100-91330

[REDACTED]

b(1)

The New York telephone directory lists the number UN 6-2000 for the SCLC at 312 West 125th Street. It lists the number AD 4-4044 for JAMES CAMPBELL at 488 Saint Nicholas Avenue, New York City.

[REDACTED]

b(1)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~X~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
201 East 69th Street  
New York 21, New York

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. Bureau 100-358916;  
New York 100-91330

June 28, 1963

Title Hunter Pitts O'Dell

Character Internal Security - C;  
Internal Security Act - 1950

Reference Report of Special Agent [REDACTED] b7(c)  
[REDACTED] at New York,  
dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

6/26/63

Airtel

To: SACs, Atlanta  
Birmingham

From: Director, FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-16-80 BY SP4 JRM/ld  
6026

UNSUBS; KKK THREAT TO BOMB  
LOS ANGELES TIMES BUILDING,  
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA, AND  
THREAT TO LIFE OF PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY,  
MARTIN LUTHER KING AND  
JENNIE A. HOOD, 6/21/63  
BOMBING MATTERS

Re Los Angeles teletype to Bureau and Atlanta 6/25/63.

Atlanta promptly upon receipt advise local authorities of the implied threat to Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., as set forth in referenced teletype.

For the information of Birmingham, on 6/25/63, Lou Davis, The Times-Mirror Company, publishers of the "Los Angeles Times," furnished a letter which is quoted as follows:

"6-21-63. Mr. President John F. Kennedy. A Nigger lover. I have a offer on your life two five zero zero zero dollars. To despose you. But you have too many guards. Next offer is on Mr. Martin Luther King one zero zero zero zero. Next offer Mr. Jimm A. Hood five zero zero zero. This is my work for money to kill. You know the majority rules minority. You dont give the rights to American Indian. Keep in concentration camps. The Niggers have some rights the whites have. Oll we want the Niggers stay away from whites places. If not be too many killings. I get my man if takes a year. K. K. K." NOT RECORDED

"Los Angeles Times. I want you print this copy in your paper of I place bomb in your building."

JWH:jlt  
11 (6)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
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Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
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Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELE. ROOM ☐

ORIGINAL FILED IN

19 JUN 27 1963

Airtel to SACs, AT & BH  
RE: UNSUB: KKK THREAT TO BOMB  
LOS ANGELES TIMES BUILDING, LA, CALIF.,

The letter was postmarked Van Nuys, California, 8:00 p.m., 6/21/63, and it was addressed to Nick Williams, Editor, Los Angeles Times.

Birmingham will promptly upon receipt advise the U. S. Marshal and local authorities at Tuscaloosa, Alabama, of the implied threat regarding Mr. James A. Hood as set forth in above quoted letter.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. Belmont

FROM : A. Rosen

SUBJECT: RACIAL MATTERS

DATE: June 25, 1963

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_

Belmont \_\_\_\_\_

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Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

UNCLASSIFIED

580-88173

12-11-79

The attached memorandum to the Attorney General sets forth a summary of pertinent racial developments occurring in various parts of the country. Included is the following item.

Information has been received in confidence from [REDACTED] to the effect that three white men of Tyner, North Carolina, had expressed to him plans to burn a Negro school and some churches in the Tyner, North Carolina, area before Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., speaks at Suffolk, Virginia, on 6/28/63. [REDACTED] also stated that one of these white males offered him a shotgun and rifle with which to shoot King when he speaks at Suffolk, Virginia, but [REDACTED] refused to accept the guns. b7(c)

[REDACTED] has been identified to the Norfolk Office by his employment supervisor as being intelligent, fairly dependable and believed to be truthful.

Local police have been advised of the threats to burn the schools and churches and of the threat to Martin Luther King, Jr.

ACTION:

The Atlanta Office is being instructed to inform Reverend Mr. King that an alleged threat to have him shot when he speaks at Suffolk, Virginia, has been brought to the attention of the local police department. LETTER TO ATTORNEY GENERAL AND TELETYPE TO ATLANTA ATTACHED.

Enclosure

- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Evans

JWR:jlt:nls

(9)

100-106670 -

NOT RECORDED

191 JUL 22 1963

6 JUN 26 1963

JUL 15 1963

ORIGINAL FILED IN

DIRECTOR, FBI

6/21/63

SAC, SAVANNAH (100-0)

**INFORMATION FURNISHED BY**  
**SM-C**

b7(c)

AL

Enclosed for the information of the Bureau is a three page letter written to [REDACTED] dated 6/11/63, two publications entitled "The Negro Question-Communist Civil War Policy" and "All America Must Know" and one poster captioned "Martin Luther King...at Communist Training School" received from BOB WILLIAMS, 2731 Lake Wood Dr., Augusta, Ga.

b7(c)

On 6/13/63, [REDACTED] made letter and enclosures received by mail available to the FBI for their information and any value they might be to Bureau. He stated writer was not known to him and he had no information concerning him.

b7(c)

A check of local city directory reflects a ROBERT A. WILLIAMS, SR., & JR., 2731 Lake Wood Dr., telephone number 733-4559, owners of Tire Town, Augusta, Ga.

No further inquiry is being made into this matter UACB.

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 4)
- 2 - Savannah
- (1 - 100-4963)

REC/kuc  
(5)

ENCLOSURE

UNCLASSIFIED  
5180 RB/PB  
12-11-79

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

100-106670-  
NOT RECORDED  
162 JUN 28 1963

114  
11 5 1963 JH

# **MARTIN LUTHER KING.... AT • COMMUNIST TRAINING SCHOOL**





**PICTURED (Foreground),**

**(1) Martin Luther King of the Montgomery Boycott and the Birmingham riots, backed up by the Kennedys,**

**(2) Abner W. Berry of the Central Committee of the Communist Party,**

**(3) Aubrey Williams, pres. of the Southern Conference Education Fund,**

**the Transmission Belt in the South for the Communist Party,**

- (1) Martin Luther King of the Montgomery Boycott and the Birmingham riots, backed up by the Kennedys,**
- (2) Abner W. Berry of the Central Committee of the Communist Party,**
- (3) Aubrey Williams, pres. of the Southern Conference Education Fund, Inc., the Transmission Belt in the South for the Communist Party,**
- (4) Myles Horton, director of Highlander Folk School for Communist Training, Monteagle, Tenn.**

**These "four horsemen" of racial agitation have brought tension, disturbance, strife and violence in their advancement of the Communist doctrine of "racial nationalism."**

DECLASSIFIED BY SP-4 JAL/ML  
ON 11-6-82  
6076

DECODED COPY

Secret

☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☒ TELETYPE

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
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Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

URGENT 6-19-63 12:12 AM DE/SAV

TO DIRECTOR -1-

FROM SAC NEW YORK

190030

MARTIN LUTHER KING: RACIAL MATTERS. OO: ATLANTA

RE NEW YORK AIRTEL JUNE 12, 1963.

(2) [REDACTED] ADVISED ON JUNE 17, 1963, THAT STANLEY LEVISON, SECRET COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBER, AND CLARENCE JONES, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE GHANDI SOCIETY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, HAD A CONVERSATION ON JUNE 17, 1963, IN WHICH THEY DISCUSSED THE IRRESPONSIBLE STATEMENTS THAT HAVE BEEN MADE TO THE PRESS RECENTLY BY GEORGE LAWRENCE, NORTHERN REGIONAL DIRECTOR OF SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC). LEVISON STATED THAT MARTIN LUTHER KING WILL GET TO THE POINT WHERE HE WILL REPUDIATE GUYS LIKE LAWRENCE AND NEW YORK ATTORNEY WILLIAM KUNSTLER UNTIL THEY LEARN NOT TO SHOOT OFF THEIR MOUTHS IN HIS NAME.

JONES THEN INFORMED LEVISON THAT THE STATEMENT OF AUTHOR JAMES BALDWIN ON THE FBI WAS KILLED "BECAUSE CERTAIN FORCES BROUGHT LITTLE PRESSURES AND SCARED EVERYBODY TO DEATH." JONES STATED HE HAD JUST TALKED TO JIMMY (BALDWIN) IN PUERTO RICO AND HE IS FURIOUS, SO HE IS GOING TO RELEASE IT TO THE PRESS WHEN HE GET UP HERE (NEW YORK). JONES SAID THAT BALDWIN WILL CALL A SPECIAL PRESS CONFERENCE ON IT UPON HIS RETURN AND LEVISON SUGGESTED BALDWIN MAKE HIS STATEMENT OVER THE RADIO IF POSSIBLE.

JONES THEN STATED THAT ON THE PREVIOUS EVENING, JUNE 16, 1963, HE HAD SEEN TWO WOMEN FIELD WORKERS OF THE SCLC WHO ARE UP IN NEW YORK FROM THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI, AND THESE WOMEN HAVE AN IN-

Classified by 6080  
Excerpt from GDS, Category 2 Secret  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

MEMO H.G., D.H.G., H.A.G. M.H.W. 11/19/63  
AAG YAGLEY 6/19/63  
JUN 15 1963

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF  
DATE 11/14/93

REC-38

159-28676

JUN 25 1963

3 TELETYPE  
H.A.G. 11/19/63  
W.P. 11/19/63  
H.A.G. 11/19/63  
F.L. 11/19/63  
F.L. 11/19/63

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

12680  
CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY SP4JAW/ML  
REASON FOR EXTENSION 2  
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 6-19-83  
6076

CLASS & EXT. BY 5130 DB/PB  
REASON - FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 6-19-83

The Attorney General

Director, FBI

REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
RACIAL MATTERS

- L - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Malley
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. Lavin
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

The following information has been received from confidential sources who have furnished reliable information in the past.

Stanley Levison, who has previously been identified by another source as a secret member of the Communist Party, United States of America, held a discussion with Clarence Jones, Executive Director of the Ghana Society for Human Rights, on June 17, 1963.

They referred to "irresponsible statements" recently made to the press by George Lawrence, Northern Regional Director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Levison remarked that Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., will eventually repudiate people like Lawrence and William Kunstler, a New York attorney, unless they learn "not to shoot off their mouths" in Reverend Mr. King's name.

Jones told Levison that the critical statement concerning the FBI which James Baldwin was supposed to release has been killed "because certain forces brought little pressures and scared everybody to death." It was stated, however, that Baldwin is furious over this matter and plans to call a special press conference when he returns to New York from Puerto Rico.

Jones informed Levison that on June 16, 1963, he had talked to two Mississippi women, field workers for the SCLC, who are presently in New York. These women told Jones what he described as an incredible story about collusion between police officials and the FBI. Levison expressed a desire to meet with these women in his office so that he could get their story on a tape.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF CLASSIFICATION DATE 11/14/77

MAILED 2  
JUN 19 1963  
COMM-FBI

- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- DeLoach
- Evans
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

WLM:jhm  
(15)

Classified by 6180  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

CONFIDENTIAL  
GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

~~SECRET~~

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Secret

~~SECRET~~

The Attorney General

recorder because it would be good for a book. Jones is attempting to arrange a meeting between these women and James Baldwin on June 20, 1963, and invited Levison to attend but Levison stated that he is leaving for Ecuador on a business trip on June 19, 1963. L

On June 17, 1963, Levison reportedly was in conversation with a business associate and stated that when Reverend Wyatt Tee Walker, Executive Director of the SCLC, appeared on a television program with other Negro leaders on June 16, 1963, Malcolm X of the Nation of Islam almost hit Reverend Mr. Walker after the broadcast because Reverend Mr. Walker had taunted Malcolm X about the militant nature of his followers. L

On June 18, 1963, Levison reportedly mentioned that there was to be a meeting that day of Negro leaders in the office of A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the entire racial situation and smooth out differences that exist between Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., and Mr. Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Levison stated that Randolph would be the arbitrator at the meeting and that Levison would be in attendance. L

NOTE: Based on New York teletype 6/19/63. Information regarding discussion with Clarence Jones received [REDACTED] Other information obtained from [REDACTED]

This memorandum is being classified "Confidential" because it contains information from a source, the unauthorized disclosure of which would seriously impair the investigation of the Communist Party, USA, and such impairment could have an adverse effect upon the national defense interests of the country.

- 1 - The Deputy Attorney General
- 1 - Mr. Burke Marshall  
Assistant Attorney General
- 1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

2:35 p.m.

June 17, 1963

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4-*Amia*  
ON 11-6-80  
6076

MR. BELMONT  
MR. DE LOACH  
MR. ROSEN  
MR. SULLIVAN

The Attorney General called and advised he would like to have Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall talk to Martin Luther King and tell King he has to get rid of Levison and O'Dell, that he should not have any contact with them directly or indirectly. The Attorney General inquired if King could be told these persons are communists without exposing the informant. *see 10c*

I advised the Attorney General I thought he could make the statement that they are members of the Communist Party without exposing the informant. I pointed out that, if King continues this association, he is going to hurt his own cause as there are more and more communists trying to take advantage of the hate movement and bigots down South who are against integration are beginning to charge King is tied in with communists. I stated I thought Marshall could very definitely say this association is rather widely known and, with things crystalizing for them now, nothing could be worse than for King to be associated with it. *U*

CLASS. & EXT. BY 5188 RB/DB  
REASON-FCIM II 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 6-17-83

Very truly yours,

REC-84

J. E. H.

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

JUN 19 1963

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JEH:rm (9)

1 - Miss Holmes

Classified by 1086  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

*leaves 11/10/77*

SENT FROM D. O.  
TIME 3:50 PM  
DATE 6-17-63  
BY *gpc*

67 JUN 20 1963

TYPE UNIT ☐

DECLASSIFIED BY 914 JAM/12  
ON 11-4-80  
6076

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Attorney General

Director, FBI

100-106670-149

REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - C  
RACIAL MATTERS

June 14, 1963

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Malley
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. Lavin
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

There is attached for your information a memorandum prepared by our New York Office setting forth the details of a conversation between Stanley Levison and Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., which conversation took place on June 12, 1963.

Levison is more fully identified in the memorandum.

The memorandum sets forth information concerning Levison's and Reverend Mr. King's reaction to the speech of President Kennedy on June 11, 1963, concerning the racial problem in the United States.

Stanley Levison commented to Reverend Mr. King that "we" cannot put the President in the position of being the enemy and that the enemy to be dealt with is the Congress. Reverend Mr. King agreed completely with Levison on this point.

A copy of the attached memorandum is being furnished to the Honorable P. Kenneth O'Donnell, Special Assistant to the President.

Enclosure

1 - The Deputy Attorney General - Enclosure

1 - Mr. Burke Marshall  
Assistant Attorney General - Enclosure

1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General - Enclosure

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

RBL:nls  
(15)

JUL 15 1963

67 JUN 26 1963

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

JUN 14 4 23 PM '63  
REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI

Classified by 6080  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

NOTE: This letter is being classified "Confidential" since it contains information from source the disclosure of who would adversely affect the defense interests of the United States.

RECEIVED-DIRECTOR

1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Rosen  
1 - Mr. Malley  
1 - Mr. McGowan  
1 - Mr. Lavin  
1 - Mr. Mohr  
1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Evans  
1 - Mr. Sullivan

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4 JMM/IN  
11-6-80  
6076

June 14, 1963

BY COURIER SERVICE

REC-9

157-86-25  
100-106670-149

Honorable P. Kenneth O'Donnell  
Special Assistant to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. O'Donnell:

There is attached for your information a memorandum prepared by our New York Office setting forth the details of a conversation between Stanley Levison and Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., which conversation took place on June 12, 1963. (6)U

Levison is more fully identified in the memorandum.

The memorandum sets forth information concerning Levison's and Reverend Mr. King's reaction to the speech of President Kennedy on June 11, 1963, concerning the racial problem in the United States. (6)U

Stanley Levison commented to Reverend Mr. King that "we" cannot put the President in the position of being the enemy and that the enemy to be dealt with is the Congress. Reverend Mr. King agreed completely with Levison on this point. (6)U

The Attorney General is being furnished a copy of the attached New York memorandum.

Sincerely yours,

NOTE: This letter is being classified "Confidential" since it contains information from sources the disclosure of which would adversely affect the defense interests of the United States.

MAILED 30  
JUN 14 1963  
COMM-FBI

Enclosure

RBL:nls  
(11)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC  
DOWNGRADING AND  
DECLASSIFICATION

Classified by 6080  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JUN 14 4 22 PM '63  
REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI

CLASS. & EXT. BY 580 P8/104  
REASON-FCIM II 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 6-14-93

P.S. 11

11/10/77

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. Belmont *done*~~Secret~~

DATE: June 14, 1963

FROM : A. Rosen *K*SUBJECT: REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
RACIAL MATTERS

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
DeLoach	_____
Evans	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

There is attached hereto a memorandum to the Attorney General and a letter to the Honorable P. Kenneth O'Donnell, Special Assistant to the President, setting forth information which we obtained from a confidential source in New York. *U*

Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., and Stanley Levison, a New York attorney and a secret member of the Communist Party as of February, 1963, discussed the President's recent speech on June 11, 1963, concerning the racial problem in the United States. *U*

Levison commented to Reverend Mr. King that "we" cannot put the President in the position of being the enemy and that the enemy to be dealt with is the Congress. Reverend Mr. King agreed completely with Levison on this point. *U*

DECLASSIFIED BY SP4 JAM/LL  
ON 11-6-80  
6076

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached letters to the Attorney General and the Honorable P. Kenneth O'Donnell be sent.

Enclosures (2) *sent 6-14-63*

- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

RBL:nls  
(10)

100-106670-149  
REC-9 *Griffin*

13 JUN 25 1963

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP4 RB/B  
REASON: FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 2  
DATE OF REVIEW 6-14-83

Classified by 6080  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
*6/14/77*

~~Secret~~

MA. 6/13/63

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
JUN 13 1963  
TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

URGENT 6-13-63 4-22 X PM EST RH

TO-DIRECTOR, FBI

SAC, NEW ORLEANS

SAC, NEW YORK

FROM-SAC, ATLANTA /157-400/

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. RM.

UNCLASSIFIED  
5780251P5  
12-11-79

67(D)  
6  
[REDACTED] ISUED JUNE THIRTEEN,

SIXTYTHREE, KING HAS FOLLOWING RESERVATIONS.

LEAVING ATLANTA JUNE FIFTEEN ON DAL FLIGHT FOUR ZERO NINE  
AT EIGHT TWENTYFIVE A. M. FOR JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI. LEAVING  
JACKSON JUNE FIFTEEN AT TWO ZERO FIVE P. M. ON DAL FLIGHT SIX  
THREE TWO ARRIVING IN ATLANTA AT FIVE FIFTYFIVE P. M. LEAVING  
ATLANTA JUNE FIFTEEN AT FIVE FIFTYFIVE P. M. ON DAL FLIGHT EIGHT  
ONE SIX ARRIVING IN NEW YORK AT EIGHT FIFTY P. M.

FURNISHED FOR INFORMATION.

REC-1

100-106670-148  
157-286

END AND ACK

JUN 17 1963

WA F 5-26 PM OK FBI WA MET IS THIS FOR RELAY ALSO TO NEWY YORK  
BY WASHINGTON PLS YES OK FOR RLAY THEN

3-25 PM CST OK FBI NO WW

TU DISC

0 F 73  
JUN 13 1963

let to [unclear]  
[unclear] 6/14/63  
[unclear]  
cc Smith

RELATED TO

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. Belmont *MB* DATE: June 12, 1963

FROM : A. Rosen *R*

SUBJECT: REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
RACIAL MATTERS

*MB*

Belmont	
Mohr	
DeLoach	
Casper	
Callahan	
Conrad	
DeLoach	
Evans	
Gale	
Rosen	
Sullivan	
Tavel	
Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Holmes	
Gandy	

*W. J. ...*

There is attached hereto a memorandum to the Attorney General and a letter to the Honorable P. Kenneth O'Donnell, Special Assistant to the President, setting forth information which we have obtained from a confidential source in New York. It pertains to the efforts being made by Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., Stanley Levison, a New York attorney and a secret member of the Communist Party as of March, 1963, and Clarence Jones, the Executive Director of the Ghandi Society for Human Rights, and integration leaders Reverend Wyatt Tee Walker and Reverend Ralph Abernathy to hold a mass march on Washington which they feel will bring nationwide attention to the question of the Negro. *E*

Previous information concerning this march was furnished to the Attorney General and to Mr. O'Donnell on June 11, 1963. *U*

REASON FOR REVIEW  
DATE OF REVIEW *6-12-83*

Enclosures (2)

RBL:kak  
(10) *Kak*

- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

DECLASSIFIED BY *SP4JAM/IL*  
ON *11-6-80*  
*6076*

REC-84

*100-106670-147*  
*20*

JUN 19 1963

Classified by *64850*  
Exempt from GDS, Category *2*  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

*led/so 11/16/77*

*Secret*

F B I

Date: 6/12/63

CLASSIFIED AND  
EXTENDED BY SP4 AM/14  
REASON FOR EXTENSION  
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW FOR  
DECLASSIFICATION 6-12-83

SECRET

6076

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-286)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (157-826)

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING  
RACIAL MATTERS  
(OO: Atlanta)

DNIA  
SECIA  
SEIONERY

Remyairtel, 6/10/63.

Enclosed herewith are seven copies of a letterhead memorandum reflecting a conversation between STANLEY LEVISON and MARTIN LUTHER KING, that took place on 6/12/63.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES

ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF DATE

DATE

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF DATE

DATE

DATE

- 1 - Bureau (157-286) (Encls. 7) (RM)  
 (1 - 100-392452) (STANLEY LEVISON)  
 (1 - 100-166670) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)  
 1 - Atlanta (Encls. 2) (Info) (RM)  
 1 - New York (100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON) (414)  
 1 - New York (100-136585) (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (412)  
 1 - New York (157-826) (414)

HCO:gmm

ENCLOSURE

Approved: CC Wick

62 JUN 25 1963

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

Classified by 6080  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

Per

to 2/20 11/10/77

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) b (1) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) \_\_\_\_\_, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); \_\_\_\_\_ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

☐ For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100-106670-146 pg. 2. Airtel

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XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX  
X DELETED PAGE(S) X  
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X  
X FOR THIS PAGE X  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

June 12, 1963

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.  
Bureau 157-286

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

11-6-63

CLASSIFIED AND  
EXTENDED BY SP4JRM/4  
REASON FOR EXTENSION 2  
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW FOR  
DECLASSIFICATION 6-12-83  
6076

Re: Martin Luther King  
Racial Matters

On June 12, 1963, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Stanley Levison, a New York Attorney, had a discussion with Martin Luther King, leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) on June 12, 1963. ~~SECRET~~

[REDACTED]

b(1)

Stanley Levison informed Martin Luther King that, after he had read President Kennedy's speech of June 11, 1963, his feelings are stronger than ever that the focus of any Washington action should not be directed against the President. King agreed and asked Levison if he had heard the President's speech. King said it was the strongest statement the President has made and "he was really great". ~~SECRET~~

Levison commented that he had not heard the President's speech, but this is what King has been asking the President to do and, therefore, King has to take a positive approach to it, otherwise it would sound as if King was not dealing with changing realities himself. ~~SECRET~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

5180 PB 106  
19-11-74  
13422  
6-12-83  
CLASSIFIED BY  
REASON FOR EXTENSION  
DATE OF REVIEW FOR

COPIES DESTROYED

8 APR 8 1974

Classified by SP4JRM/4  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
6/12/77

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Secret~~

Re: Martin Luther King  
Racial Matters

Continuing, Levison commented that "we" cannot put the President in the position of being the enemy and focus the Washington demonstration against him. Levison stated that the enemy to be dealt with is the Congress. King said he agreed completely with Levison on this.

~~SECRET~~

- 2 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Secret~~

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY SP4 JAM/14  
REASON FOR EXTENSION 2  
JIM, II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 6-11-83  
11-12-80 6076

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Attorney General

June 11, 1963

Director, FBI

REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
RACIAL MATTERS

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Malley
- 1 - Mr. McGowan
- 1 - Mr. Lavin
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on June 6, 1963, that Stanley Levison, a New York attorney, had a discussion with Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., on that date.

[REDACTED]

On June 6, 1963, Reverend Mr. King inquired if Levison had had an opportunity to talk with "Phil," presumably A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Levison replied that Clarence Jones had reached "Phil" in Chicago and that "Phil" in general liked the idea regarding the mass march on Washington that would bring nation-wide attention to the cause of the Negro.

According to Levison, "Phil" wants to discuss this matter with Reverend Mr. King personally in view of the fact that Randolph's organization had planned a similar march in the fall and if any kind of a march on Washington is to take place now it would make the march in the fall by "Phil's" organization anticlimactic.

It was "Phil's" opinion that perhaps the March 1963 his organization and that proposed by Reverend Mr. King can be joined in the immediate future. Levison suggested that King attempt to contact Randolph as soon as possible in order to discuss this matter in detail.

See cover memo Belmont from Rosen 6/11/63, same

re.

RBL: cag

(15)

SEE NOTE ON PAGE 3.

- Tolson
- Belmont
- Mohr
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- DeLoach
- Evans
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

67 JUN 14 1963

Classified by 6080  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI  
JUN 11 4 45 PM '63

100-106670-145

REC-9

CLASS. & EXT. BY 1580 RB/BB  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 6-11-83

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Attorney General

~~SECRET~~

[REDACTED] b(1)

On June 6, 1963, Reverend Mr. King asked Levison if Levison along with Jack O'Dell (also known as Hunter Pitts O'Dell) would be able to get some statistics on the annual income of the average Negro family as against the annual income of the average white family on a national level and also for some Southern states like Alabama. Reverend Mr. King would like to use these statistics at a luncheon in New York City on June 12, 1963. #

Levison stated that he would attempt to get these statistics along with Jack O'Dell and pointed out that the main point on these statistics is that the gap between Negro and white income today is greater than the gap that existed between Negro and white income during the depression days. #

[REDACTED] b(1)

Reverend Mr. King and Levison on June 6, 1963, made arrangements to discuss the above matters and other matters later in the week. Reverend Mr. King explained that he planned to return to Atlanta, Georgia, on the evening of June 6, 1963, and that he would be there until June 10, 1963, at which time he intended to return to Birmingham, Alabama. He plans to remain in Birmingham until June 12, 1963, at which time he intends to go to New York City for the above-mentioned luncheon and an appearance at the commencement exercises of City College of New York. #

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Attorney General

(Sec)

The Honorable P. Kenneth O'Donnell, Special Assistant to the President, is being furnished the above information.

- 1 - The Deputy Attorney General
- 1 - Mr. Burke Marshall  
Assistant Attorney General
- 1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

NOTE:

This memorandum is being classified "Confidential" because it contains information from a source, the unauthorized disclosure of which would seriously impair the investigation of the Communist Party, USA, and such impairment could have an adverse effect upon the national defense interests of the country.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Secret~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

11-6-80  
 CLASSIFIED AND  
 EXTENDED BY SP4 JRM/LM  
 REASON FOR EXTENSION  
 FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2  
 DATE OF REVIEW FOR  
 DECLASSIFICATION 6-11-83

TO : Mr. Belmont

DATE: 6/11/63

FROM : A. Rosen

SUBJECT: REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
RACIAL MATTERS

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

There is attached hereto a memorandum to the Attorney General and a letter to P. Kenneth O'Donnell, Special Assistant to the President, concerning information which we have obtained from a confidential source in New York. It pertains to Stanley Levison, a New York attorney and a secret member of the Communist Party as of March, 1963.

King, Levison and presumably A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, apparently are going to join in a march on Washington which they feel will bring nation-wide attention to the question of the Negro.

## ACTION BEING TAKEN:

A memorandum to the Attorney General and a letter to Mr. O'Donnell are attached for approval.

Enclosures (2) 6-12-63

- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

AR:mpd (11)

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP4 JRM/LM  
 REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
 DATE OF REVIEW 6-11-83

REC-1

100-106670-144

JUL 15 1963

led/ps 11/10/77

F B I

Date: 6/10/63

11-6-80  
CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY SP4 JAM/lu  
REASON FOR EXTENSION 2  
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 6-10-83

Transmit the following in

Via AIRTEL

(Type in plain text or Code)  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

~~SECRET~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-286)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (157-826)

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING  
RACIAL MATTERS  
(OO: Atlanta)

Re: Newyairtel, 6/7/63.

Enclosed herewith are eight copies of a letterhead memorandum reflecting a conversation between STANLEY LEVISON and HUNTER PITTS O'DELL on 6/9/63, and also a conference between LEVISON, MARTIN LUTHER KING, CLARENCE JONES, WYATT TEE WALKER and RALPH ABERNATHY, that took place at 12:01 AM, on 6/10/63.

[REDACTED]

- Bureau (157-286) (Encls. 8) (RM)  
(1 - 100-392452) (STANLEY LEVISON)  
(1 - 100-166670) (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (100-106670)  
(1 - 100-358916) (HUNTER PITTS O'DELL)  
Atlanta (Encls. 3) (Info) (RM)  
(1 - 100-5546) (MARTIN LUTHER KING) 911-73  
(1 - 100- ) (SCLC)  
New York (100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON) (414)  
New York (100-136585) (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (412)  
New York (100-73250) (CLARENCE JONES) (414)  
New York (100-91330) (HUNTER PITTS O'DELL) (414)  
New York (100-149194) (COMINFIL SCLC) (41)  
New York (157-826) (414)

gmm

C C Wick

Approved:

Sent 6/11/63 M Per

Special Agent in Charge

~~SECRET~~

67 JUN 25 1963

Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

11/9/77

UNRECORDED COPY OF ENCL. FILED IN 100-106670-143

NY 157-826

~~SECRET~~

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b(1)

C

The characterizations of individuals mentioned in the attached letterhead memorandum are listed at the end of the memorandum in order to insure that the reader is not distracted from the continuity of the memorandum.

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

New York, New York  
June 10, 1963

Bureau 157-286

Re: Martin Luther King  
Racial Matters

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 11-6-80

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY S. P. J. Rm 14  
REASON FOR EXTENSION 2  
6-10-83  
6074

On June 9, 1963, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Stanley Levison, a New York Attorney, conferred with Hunter Pitts O'Dell, on June 9, 1963. *8 U*

Characterizations of Levison and O'Dell and other individuals mentioned in this memorandum will be found at the conclusion of the memorandum.

Levison inquired if O'Dell had located the statistics which Martin Luther King had requested regarding the annual income of the average Negro family as against the annual income of the average white family. O'Dell stated that he believed he had given a copy of the statistics to Clarence Jones and that he would get them from Jones today and send them to King air mail special delivery. *8 U*

Levison asked O'Dell what the total contributions have been to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). O'Dell estimated that the contributions have been in the neighborhood of \$100,000 total, and that \$35,000 to \$40,000 of this has come in since the events began in Birmingham. *8 U*

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES

AND FIELD OFFICES

ADVISED BY ROUTING

SLIP(S) OF *Classification*  
DATE *11/14/77* BY *11/9/77*

*6P80*  
*2*  
Date of *11/9/77*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Group I  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

CONFIDENTIAL

Re: Martin Luther King  
Racial Matters

They then discussed the proposal that had been made by the National Council of Churches that a commission of 25 persons be set up which is to get in touch with Martin Luther King for the purpose of assisting King in his fight for racial equality. They agreed that the assistance from the National Council of Churches on the proposed march on Washington would be invaluable, particularly if a white churchman was to lead a demonstration to the Capital in protest of the anticipated filibuster of the Civil Rights legislation, which is to be presented to Congress. **B**

The source further advised on June 10, 1963, that Levison took part in a conference with the Reverend Martin Luther King, Clarence Jones, the Reverend Wyatt Tee Walker and the Reverend Ralph Abernathy, among others. According to the source, the purpose of this conference was to obtain ideas as to how to dramatize the proposed march on Washington. Reverend King stated that the basic purpose of the march on Washington would be to put the pressure on Congress so that the civil rights legislation would be passed. King said that President Kennedy would be able to get off the hook if the legislation was not passed by saying that he attempted to get it through. **64**

It was felt that the National Council of Churches can be utilized in this demonstration and also in the similar demonstrations that will be simultaneously held throughout the rest of the country. Reverend King stated that he had mixed emotions about President Kennedy in that the President should be made to know that "we" are not satisfied with him and what he has done in the field of civil rights. On the other hand, according to King, there are some Negro people that think Kennedy has done a good job in this field. **U**

Those participating in the conference were in agreement that the Washington demonstration should be focused on the Congress rather than the White House. It was felt that the timing of the demonstration should be coincided with the anticipated filibuster of the civil rights legislation. However, Clarence Jones did not agree with this because he felt it would be impossible to properly prepare a demonstration in advance if the

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Martin Luther King  
Racial Matters

demonstration has to wait for the filibustering to begin before it can be put into effect. It was felt that possibly 100,000 people, including children, would be utilized in the Washington demonstration in order for it to be politically impressive and that the demonstrations can possibly start in the balcony of Congress. It was felt that more than likely, some time in August, 1963, would be when the demonstration and the march on Washington would take place. *S*

Reverend King stated that he planned to attend a conference soon with leaders of other organizations in order to discuss the march on Washington with them. Levison suggested to King that King take advantage of the two public appearances he will make in New York City, during the coming week, to announce his plans for the march on Washington and the demonstrations that will go along with it. *S*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Martin Luther King  
Racial Matters

Characterizations

[REDACTED] S  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] S  
[REDACTED] S  
[REDACTED] S

b(1)

Martin Luther King

Martin Luther King is the President of the  
SCLC.

Clarence Jones

Clarence Jones is currently the Acting Executive  
Director of the Ghandi Society for Human Rights.

[REDACTED] C

b(1)

The LYL has been designated by the Attorney  
General of the United States pursuant to  
Executive Order 10450.

[REDACTED] C

b(1)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Martin Luther King  
Racial Matters

Characterizations

Herbert Romerstein, a self-admitted former Communist and YPA member, in testimony before a sub-committee of the Committee of the Judiciary, United States Senate, on April 12, and June 12, 1951, stated that the YPA was set up on the basis of the needs of the Communist Party (CP). YPA members were active within the organization as Communists and the organization was developed along CP lines. Romerstein also related that YPA leadership was composed of CP members.

Wyatt Tee Walker

Wyatt Tee Walker is assistant to Martin Luther King and Executive Director of the SCLC.

Ralph Abernathy

Ralph Abernathy is assistant to Martin Luther King and Vice President of the SCLC.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☒ RADIO ☐ TELETYPE

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

URGENT 6-10-63

TO DIRECTOR AND SACS ALBANY, BIRMINGHAM, NEW YORK  
FROM SAC ATLANTA 101632

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., RM. *b7(D)*

ADVISED

THE FOLLOWING RESERVATIONS HAVE BEEN MADE FOR SUBJECT:

JUNE 10, DELTA FLIGHT 723 TO BIRMINGHAM  
JUNE 11, EASTERN FLIGHT 552 TO ATLANTA  
JUNE 12, EASTERN FLIGHT 516 TO NEW YORK  
JUNE 13, DELTA FLIGHT 971 TO ATLANTA  
JUNE 14, DELTA FLIGHT 816 TO NEW YORK  
JUNE 16, MOHAWK FLIGHT 463 TO SYRACUSE, AMERICAN FLIGHT  
260 BACK TO NEWARK  
JUNE 19, DELTA FLIGHT 971 TO ATLANTA.

RECEIVED:

2:16 PM

NCC

REC-23

3 JUN 13 1963

UNCLASSIFIED  
5180 RB1PB  
12-11-79

EX-120

55 JUN 1963

FBI

Date: 6/7/63

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY 5/10/10/10  
REASON FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 6-7-83

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT  
(Type in plain text)

Via AIRTEL ~~SECRET~~  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

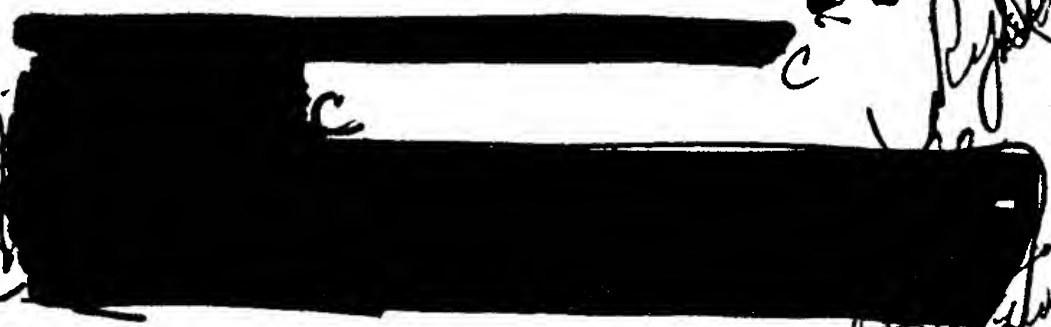
TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-286)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (157-826)

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING  
RACIAL MATTERS  
(OO: Atlanta)

Remyairtel, 6/4/63.

Enclosed herewith are eight copies of a letterhead memorandum reflecting a conversation between STANLEY LEVISON and MARTIN LUTHER KING, that took place on 6/6/63.



- Bureau (157-286) (Encls. 8) (RM)
  - (1 - 100-392452) (STANLEY LEVISON)
  - (1 - 100-166670) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)
  - (1 - 100-358916) (HUNTER PITTS O'DELL)
- Atlanta (Encls. 2) (Info) (RM)
  - (1 - 100-5546) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)
- New York (100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON) (414)
- New York (100-136585) (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (412)
- New York (100-73250) (CLARENCE JONES) (414)
- New York (100-91330) (HUNTER PITTS O'DELL) (414)
- New York (157-826) (414)

FTL: gmm

JUL 15 1963

Approved: [Signature] Special Agent in Charge

Sent

Per

5 JUN 20 1963 XEROX

JUN 21 1963

~~SECRET~~

Secret

CLASS. & EXT. BY 5/10/10/10  
REASON FCIM II 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 6-7-83

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF DATE 4/14/82

Agency G-2, ONL CCL CRD

JUN 12 1963

How Forw. RS

By RB L...

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-3-470  
UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-1-166  
UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-1-166

REC 53  
100-106670-141  
JUN 8 1963

11/9/77

NY 157-826

~~SECRET~~

~~Secret~~

It should be noted that LEVISON is attempting to arrange for a television appearance for MARTIN LUTHER KING in conjunction with KING's appearance in New York City, for the commencement exercises at CCNY on 6/12/63. KING has told LEVISON that he is only interested in appearing on a program for no less than 15 minutes. This program would have to be a national network show such as the "Today" show. LEVISON has not been able to set up any program of this nature as yet. ~~SECRET~~ S

[REDACTED] S

[REDACTED] b(1)

The characterizations of individuals mentioned in the attached letterhead memorandum are listed at the end of the memorandum in order to insure that the reader is not distracted from the continuity of the memorandum.

~~SECRET~~

Secret



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Bureau 157-286

New York, New York  
June 7, 1963

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLASSIFIED AND  
EXTENDED BY SP4JMM/LL  
REASON FOR EXTENSION 2  
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW FOR  
DECLASSIFICATION 6-7-83  
6076

Re: Martin Luther King  
Racial Matters

On June 6, 1963, a Confidential Source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Stanley Levison, a New York Attorney, had a discussion with Martin Luther King, leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), on June 6, 1963. 60 J

A characterization of Stanley Levison will be found at the conclusion of this memorandum.

King inquired if Levison had had an opportunity to talk with Phil (A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters). Levison replied that Clarence Jones reached Phil in Chicago and that Phil, in general, liked the idea regarding a mass march on Washington that would bring nationwide attention to the cause of the Negro. According to Levison, Randolph wants to discuss this matter with King personally in view of the fact that Randolph's organization had planned a similar march in the Fall, and that if any kind of march on Washington is to take place now, it would make the march in the Fall by Randolph's organization anti-climatic. It was Randolph's opinion that perhaps the march by his organization and that proposed by King can be coincided in the immediate future. Levison suggested that King attempt to contact Randolph as soon as possible in order to discuss this matter in detail. 60 J

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Group I

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

Classified by 16080  
Exempt from automatic  
Date of Declassification 11/9/77

~~SECRET~~

~~Secret~~

CLASS. BY SP4JMM/LL  
REASON FOR EXTENSION 2  
DATE OF REVIEW 6-7-83

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

Re: Martin Luther King  
Racial Matters

A characterization of Clarence Jones, referred to above, will be found at the conclusion of this memorandum.

King asked Levison if Levison, along with Jack O'Dell (Hunter Pitts O'Dell) would be able to get some statistics on the annual income of the average Negro family as against the annual income of the average white family on a national level, and then for some Southern states, like Alabama, where "we" are now working. King would like to use these statistics at a luncheon in New York City on June 12, 1963. Levison stated that he would attempt to get the statistics along with Jack O'Dell, and pointed out that the main point on these statistics is that the gap between Negro and white income today is greater than the gap that existed between Negro and white income during the depression days.

A characterization of Hunter Pitts O'Dell will be found at the conclusion of this memorandum.

King and Levison made arrangements to discuss these and other matters later in the week. King explained that he planned to return to Atlanta, Georgia, on the evening of June 6, 1963, and that he would be there until the following Monday, June 10, 1963, at which time he would return to Birmingham, Alabama. King plans to remain in Birmingham until June 12, 1963, at which time he will come to New York City for the above mentioned luncheon and an appearance at the commencement exercises of City College of New York.

[REDACTED]

3

Clarence Jones is currently the Acting Executive Director of the Ghandi Society for Human Rights.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Secret~~

Re: Martin Luther King  
Racial Matters

~~SECRET~~

[REDACTED]

b(1)

The LYL has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

[REDACTED]

b(1)

Herbert Romerstein, a self-admitted former Communist and YPA member, in testimony before a sub-committee of the Committee of the Judiciary, United States Senate, on April 12, and June 12, 1951, stated that the YPA was set up on the basis of the needs of the Communist Party (CP). YPA members were active within the organization as Communists and the organization was developed along CP lines. Romerstein also related that YPA leadership was composed of CP members.

[REDACTED]

b(1)

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Secret~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: June 29, 1963

FROM : Mr. J. F. Bland

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING  
SECURITY MATTER - C  
RACIAL MATTERS

1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Rosen  
1 - Mr. Evans  
1 - Mr. McGowan  
1 - Mr. Bland  
1 - Mr. Forsyth

Tolson  
Belmont  
Mohr  
Casper  
Callahan  
Conrad  
DeLoach  
Evans  
Gale  
Rosen  
Sullivan  
Tavel  
Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Holmes  
Gandy

My memorandum dated 6/28/63 related to a request from Department Attorney Kevin Maroney for any information of a derogatory or subversive nature regarding Martin Luther King which the Bureau had not already furnished the Department and for any information available regarding a flier captioned "Martin Luther King at Communist Party Training School" which is being disseminated in the South by the White Citizens Council. Maroney indicated that the Attorney General is to continue his congressional testimony on the Civil Rights Bill on Monday, 7/1/63, and the brief being prepared for the Attorney General is to include subversive and derogatory information concerning King as well as available information concerning the above flier. My memorandum indicated that Maroney was advised that the Department was in possession of all derogatory and subversive information available to the Bureau regarding King. It was suggested to Maroney that he send us a copy of the flier and we would examine it and furnish him any information which might be of assistance to the Department.

At 3 p.m., 6/28/63, a copy of the flier was delivered by special messenger from Maroney. It appears that this flier, which consists of a picture of a group of individuals seated in an auditorium, one of whom is Martin Luther King, actually relates to a 1957 Labor Day weekend seminar at the Highlander Folk School (HFS), Monteagle, Tennessee, which was attended by King. According to a publication circulated extensively by the Georgia Commission on Education, which allegedly had an "undercover" agent in attendance, the seminar "was held to discuss methods and tactics for precipitating racial strife and disturbances." The publication further characterized the HFS as a "communist training school."

A review of FBI files concerning the HFS disclosed that this school was the subject of a security investigation which was closed in 1943. Information was developed that Communist Party (CP) members had been on the school staff and the school had followed the practice of welcoming communists as students. No information was developed that the school offered courses of instruction on communism.

EBR:mar

(8)

55 JUL 12 1963

REC-52

JUL 3 1963

SUBV. CONTROL

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING

nor that the CP ever succeeded in gaining control of the school. Due to its interracial character, however, the HFS has been the subject of numerous past allegations that it represents the headquarters for communism in Eastern Tennessee.

The above information was furnished to the Department in an enclosure to a letter to the Attorney General dated 5/23/61 captioned "Congress of Racial Equality, Freedom Ride, 1961, Civil Rights" (100-225892-365). Mr. Maroney's attention was called to this letter to the Attorney General and he requested that the letter be brought to the further attention of Department Attorney Frank Worthington who was preparing the brief for the Attorney General. Mr. Worthington was immediately advised of the above letter and he indicated that this was precisely the information the Department needed.

ACTION:

None. For information.

✓

gpc

BR

gpc

J

B✓

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *was*

DATE: June 28, 1963

FROM : Mr. J. F. Bland *JFB*SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING  
SECURITY MATTER - C  
RACIAL MATTERS

1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Rosen  
1 - Mr. Evans  
1 - Mr. McGowan  
1 - Mr. Bland

Person  
Belmont  
Mohr  
Casper  
Callahan  
Conrad  
DeLoach  
Evans  
Gale  
Rosen  
Sullivan  
Tavel  
Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Holmes  
Gandy

At 12:45 p.m. today Department Attorney Kevin Maroney, Appeals Division, telephonically advised that the Attorney General (AG) will continue his testimony on the Civil Rights Bill before a Congressional committee in open session on Monday, July 1, 1963. Maroney said that he had just received a request from Herb Hoffman, Deputy AG's Office, for subversive and derogatory information regarding Martin Luther King, which will be included in the brief being prepared for the AG's testimony. Maroney said that he has called the Department's files on King and his first request was that he be furnished any information of a subversive or derogatory nature regarding King which has not been previously furnished to the Department. With regard to this request, Mr. Maroney was advised that the Department had been furnished all pertinent information regarding King developed by the Bureau and that all such information would be in the Department's files regarding King.

Maroney's second request related to a leaflet which is currently being distributed in Georgia and which Maroney feels was probably prepared by the White Citizens Council. This leaflet, which is only one page, contains a picture of a large gathering in an auditorium and is captioned "Martin Luther King at Communist Party Training School." Martin Luther King is pointed out in the picture and at least four other individuals are also pointed out, all of whom are alleged to be Communist Party functionaries. Maroney did not have the flyer in his possession but he indicated there was no identifying data on the flyer as to the time or place where the alleged training school was held. Maroney said that he would send a copy of this flyer by special messenger to the Bureau and he would appreciate any help the Bureau might give him regarding the meeting allegedly portrayed on the flyer.

Maroney was advised that upon receipt of the flyer, we would be happy to examine it and to furnish him any helpful information available. It was pointed out to Maroney that in view of the lack of identifying data on the flyer, the Bureau might not be able to identify the alleged meeting. Maroney said he realized this but would appreciate any information we could give him.

EBR:mtb  
(7)

REC-29

UNCLASSIFIED

10 JUL 8 1963

SURV. CONTROL

55 JUL 12 1963

5180 251PB  
12-11-19

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
Re: Martin Luther King

ACTION:

For information. Upon receipt of the flyer from Maroney, it will be examined and we will furnish Maroney any information which may be of assistance to the Department.

JS

W.E.D.  
Bz

gre  
✓

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

3 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) b(1) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) \_\_\_\_\_, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); \_\_\_\_\_ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

☐ For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100 - 106670 - 138.

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX  
X DELETED PAGE(S) X  
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X  
X FOR THIS PAGE X  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

F B I

Date: 6/20/63

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-166670)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-136585)

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING  
SM-C  
(OO: Atlanta)

ReNYairtel, 6/13/63. b(2) b7(D)

On 6/19/63 [REDACTED] advised that STANLEY LEVISON had a discussion with his secretary re MARTIN LUTHER KING. LEVISON stated that KING is going to "give up" his planned trip to Europe this summer. According to LEVISON, KING hated to do this because KING really needs a vacation and his wife was looking forward to it. Also, KING had arranged a whole series of engagements abroad including the Baptist World Convention. LEVISON then stated that "KING is so busy with civil rights that we forget that KING is not only a minister but that he was born and bred in it; that it means a lot to him."

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF Classification  
DATE 11/14/77 1255

REC- 74

4-Bureau (100-166670) (RM)  
(1-100-392452) (STANLEY LEVISON)

2-Atlanta (100-5586) (RM)

1-New York (100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON) (414)

1-New York (100-136585) (412)

FTL:rmv

(9)

Secret

100-106670-137

JUN 21 1963

SUBV. CONTROL

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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EX-120

REC-3

June 20, 1963

[REDACTED]  
Shafter, California

Dear [REDACTED]

Your letter of June 14, 1963, has been received.

Although I would like to be of service, information contained in the files of the FBI must be maintained as confidential in accordance with regulations of the Department of Justice and is available for official use only. I regret I am unable to be of help in this instance and hope you will not infer either that we do or do not have data in our files relating to the individual you mentioned.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. King is listed in the Reserve Index, Section A. He is the subject of Bufile 100-106670 and his activities are being followed on a current basis.

DTP:jlw (3)

UNCLASSIFIED

5780 RB/PS  
10-11-79

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

June 11, 1963

[REDACTED]  
Shafter, Calif,

b7(c)

J. Edgar Hoover  
F.B.I.  
Washington D. C.

Dear Sir;

The other night at Lions Club we were discussing the Integration problem. I made the statement that I thought it was fortunate that the Negroes had as their leader a man of the stature and Christian character as Martin Luther King.

Two members sitting next to me including a prominent Doctor made the statement that they understood that King was a Communist. I strongly denied it but had no proof.

We all agreed that if I wrote to your highly respected office and got an answer, that we would abide by that decision.

Thank you.

Cordially,

[REDACTED]

AA

b7(c)

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-6-81 BY SP4JN/mn

EX-120

100-106670-135

JUN 11 1963

RECEIVED  
JUN 11 1963

CORRESPONDENCE

ack 6-20-63

DTR:jlw

JUN 18 1963

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XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET3

Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.



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For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_



The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

NOT REC. 6/13/63 N.Y. Airtel pg. 1-3.

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Routing Slip  
FD-4 (Rev. 10-13-58)

Date 6/14/63

To

☒ Director FBI

BU FILE # 100-106670

Att.

(RM)

☐ SAC

Title

☐ ASAC

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

☐ Supv.

SM-C

☐ Agent

☐ SE

☐ CC

☐ Steno

☐ Clerk

ACTION DESIRED

☐ Acknowledge

☐ Open Case

☐ Assign.....Reassign.....

☐ Prepare lead cards

☐ Bring file

☐ Prepare tickler

☐ Call me

☐ Recharge serials

☐ Correct

☐ Return assignment card

☐ Deadline.....

☐ Return file

☐ Deadline passed

☐ Return serials

☐ Delinquent

☐ Search and return

☐ Discontinue

☐ See me

☐ Expedite

☐ Send Serials

☐ File

☐ Submit new charge-out

☒ For information

☐ Submit report

☐ Initial & return

☐ Type

☐ Leads need attention

☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

PHOTOSTAT OF "SATURDAY EVENING  
POST" ARTICLE 6/15/63, ISSUE  
RE. SUBJECT. ONE COPY FURNISHED  
TO ATLANTA.

ENCLOSURE

See reverse side

SAC JOHN F. MAHONEY

Office NEW YORK

54 JUN 19 1963

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 11-6-80 BY SP4 JML/la

6076



Martin  
Luther King Jr.

APOSTLE OF CRISIS



Martin  
Luther King Jr.

## APOSTLE OF CRISIS

*...accuse him of arrogance and opportunism, but his talent for inspiring "mass  
movements of immoral laws" has made him the most powerful Negro leader in America.*

Since early April, temperatures had been rising inside the racial pressure cooker called Birmingham, Alabama. One muggy afternoon last month the lid blew off.

City Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Connor, deploying police forces to contain demonstration marches, had watched with growing impatience as a noisy Negro crowd filled Kelly Ingram Park, a square block of tall elms, walkways and green turf in the main Negro business section. Bellowing, laughing and jeering, the crowd—mostly students—taunted Connor's blue-clad policemen and the firemen sweating in dun-colored, knee-length slickers. Whining shepherd dogs strained at chains held by the cops, while the firemen manhandled big monitor nozzles combining two hoses for high pressure.

"Freedom!" shouted a Negro boy, flailing his arms. "Get white dogs!"

"Let 'em have it," said the Bull.

The firemen moved, and water shot from the nozzles. With a sound like automatic gunfire, a

powerful stream rattled rapid-fire over elm trees, whacking off strips of thick, black bark. Then it slammed into a slim, white-clad Negro girl in the distance. She braced against it for a moment, then was knocked over into the dirt.

A group of unruly, drunken Negroes swung their arms and rocks began to fly. One crashed near the police. A bottle fell and shattered. Shouts of defiance came from the milling crowd. Rocks continued to clatter. The dogs whined eagerly. And over the cacophony of other sounds lay the crashing of the big hoses. The only still figures were about 200 whites watching somberly from across the street. Finally, with the Negroes pushed back, the water was shut off. "God bless America," a reporter mumbled in disgust.

Thus did racial violence come this spring to the most rigidly segregated major city in America. It marked a collision of two power systems, the first represented by Bull Connor, vigorously enforcing laws that preserve the status quo of racial discrimination, the second by Dr. Martin Luther

By REESE CLEGHORN

## "In the North, discrimination is even more agonizing than in the South."

Young Martin grew up as the son of a man of color in the community. Except that he was a Negro in a segregated Southern city, it was almost a typical middle-class American setting.

Who knew young Martin noted one thing early. He played rough games, but he didn't like a fight. Once the school bully knocked him down a flight of stairs and beat him, but he didn't fight back.

He was sensitive, and twice as a young boy he almost lost control of himself in heartbreak. Once, D., his younger brother, sliding down a banister, knocked their grandmother unconscious, thinking she was dead. Martin ran to a second-floor window and jumped out, but the fall was only 10 or 12 feet and he was not injured. When he was 11, he learned that his grandmother really had died and took the same fall out the window—again escaping injury.

His sensitivity and reluctance to fight back are two of his outstanding characteristics. When a 200-pound self-styled American boxer hit him during a speech in Birmingham, he took the man's blows and never tried to retaliate. But his courage is not seriously shaken, even by those who find other characteristics offensive. Although he does get tense and blurt out in his speech when faced with criticism, mostly because of arm-twisting mistreatment he has received from police in the past—he has never been known to flinch from following his own path.

He can match Perry Como in languorous appearance. His broad face has a gentle, down-curving mouth and he never seems to hurry. His frequent response is "Oh, yeses." He can match an Alka-Seltzer baritone's last four notes of a song at someone's trivial party. He can wait a moment too late, but he never seems to be in a hurry.

He is a man who can wait for a moment too late, but he never seems to be in a hurry.

Many people think he has no sense of humor.

times dark blue; and his suits, which Mrs. King helps choose, usually look more respectable than stylish. He once bought some suits in the \$150-\$200 price range, with a preference for high-sheen dressy ones, but his taste seems to be more modest now.

Price, however, is not the problem. Testimony from state investigators in an unsuccessful Alabama tax case against King revealed substantial income. For 1958, for example, he reported \$25,348—and the state charged him with having made almost twice that much. He attributed the tax case to persecution, and was acquitted of fraud, but he had by then paid some additional tax which the state claimed was due.

King receives one dollar a year from S.C.L.C. and \$6,000 from Ebenezer Baptist Church, which lists him as co-pastor. Most of his income comes from speaking fees, gifts and books, of which his third, titled *Strength to Love*, has recently been published by Harper & Row.

For these latter sources of income, King naturally must thank his national prominence as a Negro leader; and it is a curious fact that, between crises, his place in the civil-rights struggle seems to slip. After his first ascent to fame during the 1956 bus boycott campaign in Montgomery, Alabama, he passed through a period of limbo. "The rest of my life will be anticlimactic," he told a good friend.

But the next year he reestablished himself on the national scene when he proposed a "prayer pilgrimage" to Washington, won out against N.A.A.C.P. opposition and, on May 17, spoke from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial to 25,000 Negroes. "Give us the ballot" was his theme, rolling out like the refrain of an old hymn. "Give us the ballot, and we will transform the salient misdeeds of bloodthirsty mobs into the abiding good deeds of orderly citizens. Give us the ballot. . . ." The crowd boomed its approval, and editor James L. Hicks of New York City's *Amsterdam News* wrote that King "emerged from the Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington as the No. 1 leader of 14 million Negroes. At this point in his

years earlier. But it was the lunch-counter sit-ins in the Carolinas and the rising restlessness of the Negro students which brought him to the fore again. Not leadership but agility put him there.

Students from about 40 communities where there had been sit-ins met in Raleigh, North Carolina, in April, to organize; and because King was, to them, the great symbol of the movement, they asked him to help. Though they had moved ahead of him in pressing "selective buying" programs—boycotts—he had quickly adopted this as his own cause. ("He had to run to catch up with them," a friend remembers.) And now, when they organized the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (S.N.C.C.), he became its patron saint. S.N.C.C.—usually called "Snick"—has since become a grass-roots organization carrying the dangerous burden of direct action in the tough black-belt areas of the South.

The revolutionary new youth tide that flowed from Raleigh had the effect of thrusting King into the front of a civil-disobedience movement now identified with his name, although in actual practice it was a young people's tactic at that time. Mass violation of the law by sit-ins and jail-ins was the banner that impatient students thrust into his hands for the 1960's. It was a sort of "black man's burden," and he was carrying it when he went to jail in Atlanta's sit-ins of 1960.

The Atlanta showdown exemplifies an essential fact about King: Here, as has often been the case, he was the Negroes' symbol and public spokesman; but actually the sit-in campaign was run by the students, and the command of Negro forces dealing with the Atlanta city administration was exercised by the established Negro power structure of Atlanta. On the operating level, King was a major factor only once, when the power of his oratory was needed to persuade a rally of rebellious students to accept the desegregation timetable which the local Negro leaders had negotiated.

Partly because his method is to move about in evangelical fashion, with local people remaining

...attacked him during the trial. King took the man's blows and never tried to retaliate. But his courage is not seriously doubted, even by those who find other characteristics to criticize. Although he does get tense and even tighten up in his speech when faced with criticism—possibly because of arm-twisting mistreatment he has received from police in the past—he does not let that deter him from following his own path.

Ordinarily he can match Perry Como in languor and loquacity of appearance. His broad face has a friendly, almost smiling aspect, with a down-curling mouth and deep-set eyes, and he never seems to hurry. His most frequent response is "Oh, yeeees." The word stretches out like a baritone's last four notes. When he laughs at someone's trivial remark, the laugh seems just a moment too late, as if he has been contemplating even this.

#### King can clown in private

Many people think he has no sense of humor; but in private, when alone, he is a clown, parodying a swinging singer's radio routine, for instance. But no one ever sees such a performance or realizes that behind a public dignity of ecclesiastical sobriety, he is an avid sports fan. Swimming, tennis and fishing have been among his own pursuits, but he has little time for them these days. His leisure time, in fact, is largely spent with his family—his wife Coretta, a pretty former pianist who sometimes sings soprano in church choirs; Yolande (Yoki), 7; Martin III, 5; Bernice, 3; and Bernice Albertine, born March 1960. They live in a large, two-story brick house in the heart of Atlanta's less fashionable Negro neighborhood. He is at home about 10 days a month.

When he is traveling, a recent schedule took him to Chicago for four speeches on a Sunday, to the University of Minnesota Monday, to the American S.C.L.C. office Tuesday with a meeting there that night, Wednesday morning in New York there were meetings with the S.C.L.C. Saturday, counseling at his church in New York, hospitalized members; Sunday morning preaching. And then on the road for Connecticut, Tennessee.

After the fact, he almost always appears in the dress jeans to brown, gray and some-

Negro leader; and it is a curious fact that, between crises, his place in the civil-rights struggle seems to slip. After his first ascent to fame during the 1956 bus boycott campaign in Montgomery, Alabama, he passed through a period of limbo. "The rest of my life will be anticlimactic," he told a good friend.

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Still, King, who in those days wore a floppy, broad-brimmed hat, unfashionable wide-lapel suits and floral-design ties, was often out of the limelight. In the fall of that same year, 1957, the Little Rock explosion thrust other leaders into the headlines; Daisy Bates of the N.A.A.C.P. was the Negro of the hour then.

King slipped further from view after he narrowly escaped death on September 20, 1958, when a mentally deranged Negro woman named Izola Curry plunged a letter opener into his chest as he autographed his first book, *Stride Toward Freedom*, in a Harlem department store. "I've been after you for six years," she exclaimed. The blade narrowly missed his aorta, and King probably would have died if he had pulled the blade out, a doctor said later. Instead, he waited calmly for medical attention, with the stoical bravery he has shown on other occasions. His recovery was delayed by pneumonia, and for two years he remained largely out of public view except for a trip to India to talk to Nehru.

He did not emerge until 1960, with the advent of more crises. That year he set up offices in Atlanta for S.C.L.C.—"Slick," in the jargon of the movement—which had been largely dormant since he and his supporters had founded it three

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Partly because his method is to move about in evangelical fashion, with local people remaining to reap whatever harvest may come, King has

Police Chief Laurie Pritchett of Albany, Georgia, orders King arrested during demonstrations in 1962.





*Negro girls, arrested for taking part in the Birmingham protests, huddle in 4-H building used to handle overflow from the jail.*

King Jr., making a carefully planned assault on those laws and that discrimination.

For the crisis in Birmingham did not just happen. The Negro leader lighted a fire under the pressure cooker, well knowing that the "peaceful demonstrations" he organized would bring, at the very least, tough repressive measures by the police. And although he hoped his followers would not respond with violence—he has always stressed a nonviolent philosophy—that was a risk he was prepared to take. Two months earlier his No. 1 staff assistant, the Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, had explained, "We've got to have a crisis to bargain with. To take a moderate approach, hoping

town department and variety stores, for upgrading of Negro employment and hiring on a non-discriminatory basis, and for the formation of a biracial committee.

On the other hand, coworkers in the civil-rights movement, which today teems with dissent and self-criticism, argue that these gains might have been won even without King. After decades of iron-fisted white supremacy, a series of elections in the past year had brought rejection of the old-line leadership, and white-Negro negotiations had established unprecedented rapport. (Speaking of a local Negro leader and head of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human

Other detractors within the desegregation movement have bitterly accused King of tackling Birmingham primarily to raise money and to keep his name and his organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (S.C.L.C.), out in front on the teeming civil-rights scene.

But despite such criticism, King's magic touch with the masses of Negroes remains. They do not understand the intricacies of his tactics. What they see is a powerful crusader for equality who does something instead of just talking, who sticks lighted matches to the status quo and who is impatient with talk of waiting. Given the increasing unrest among Negroes, King's flare seems likely

*Negro girls arrested for taking part in the Birmingham protests, huddle in 4-H building used to handle overflow from the jail.*

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For the crisis in Birmingham did not just happen. The Negro leader lighted a fire under the pressure cooker, well knowing that the "peaceful demonstrations" he organized would bring, at the very least, tough repressive measures by the police. And although he hoped his followers would not respond with violence—he has always stressed a nonviolent philosophy—that was a risk he was prepared to take. Two months earlier his No. 2 staff assistant, the Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, had explained, "We've got to have a crisis to bargain with. To take a moderate approach, hoping to get white help, doesn't work. They nail you to the cross, and it saps the enthusiasm of the followers. You've got to have a crisis."

King got his crisis in a hymn-singing, rock-throwing crescendo of peaceful marches and violent strife that sent more than 2,400 Negroes to jail, most of them for such offenses as parading without a permit. It was the largest number ever arrested in an American racial protest. And even after he seemed to have won his fight for an agreement ending discrimination, 2,500 Negroes angrily responded to night riders' bombings by three hours of midnight rioting. Scores of cars were crumpled, torches were put to ramshackle stores and two apartment houses, a policeman and a cab driver were stabbed, and about 50 other people were injured. Later that black Sunday, President Kennedy ordered riot-trained combat troops to nearby bases.

In the days that followed, the tension eased, and integration leaders in Birmingham and around the nation tried to assess the results of King's invasion of this Deep South bastion. If the city's white business and political leaders stand by the agreement worked out in unofficial negotiations between white and Negro spokesmen, King will have won significant victories for the city's Negro population. This agreement calls for desegregation within 90 days of some lunch counters and other facilities in a number of downtown

department and variety stores, for upgrading of Negro employment and hiring on a non-discriminatory basis, and for the formation of a biracial committee.

On the other hand, coworkers in the civil-rights movement, which today teems with dissent and self-criticism, argue that these gains might have been won even without King. After decades of iron-fisted white supremacy, a series of elections in the past year had brought rejection of the old-line leadership, and white-Negro negotiations had established unprecedented rapport. (Speaking of a local Negro leader and head of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, a white merchant who a year ago grumbled, "I never thought I'd be sitting down with Fred Shuttlesworth," recently volunteered in obvious sincerity, "I'm delighted to know you, Reverend Shuttlesworth.")

Now, however, Birmingham's Negroes face a backwash of troublesome problems. White hoodlums have been aroused. Negro demonstrators may be faced with heavy fines. School authorities suspended or expelled 1,100 children who left classes to march in the protests. And both the outgoing commission-type administration of Mayor Art Hanes and Commissioners Bull Connor and J.T. Waggoner, and the incoming mayor-council form of government headed by Mayor Albert Boutwell have publicly stated that they were not bound by the white-Negro negotiations. It will be months before anyone knows how much the Negroes won, or whether the battle of Birmingham is over.

For these and other reasons, some integrationist leaders felt that King had blundered in bringing crisis to Birmingham. It was not the right place, they maintained; this was not the right time; and mass marches to fill the jails—a tactic that bears King's personal brand—was not the right tactic. Furthermore, King had gone into Birmingham not only against the advice of these leaders but without even informing them. "That's just arrogant," one said in exasperation.

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For King endows this American struggle with qualities of messianic mission. A short man whose thick neck and heavy shoulders convey an impression of height and power, he can fill New York's cavernous Riverside Church with eloquence about "the battering rams of historical necessity," or set rural Negro Baptists in Georgia to clapping and shouting rhythmic responses when he says, "The cloud is dark, but the sun is shining on the other side."

This oratorical blend of intellectual content with the imagery of an old Southern preacher is natural. King, 34, holds a theological degree from Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania, and a doctor-of-philosophy degree from Boston University. But some think his family heritage and home community explain much more about him than his education.

His father, usually known as "M. L. Sr.," was a strong figure in Atlanta for many years before young Martin became famous. The son of a hard-drinking part-Negro, part-Irish Georgia sharecropper, M. L. Sr. came to Atlanta as a largely unlettered young working man. He went to college, became a preacher, married a daughter of a man who had founded Ebenezer Baptist Church, and later became pastor of this politically influential church, as he still is today.

*Martin Luther King*

## Get on your walking shoes and don'tcha get weary

been called the Billy Graham of the civil-rights movement. Unlike Billy Graham, however, King bears heavy organizational responsibilities, and it is in this realm that he is most criticized.

"I really don't have a great interest in administration," King said one day recently, semi-reclining in a swivel chair in his simple, cheaply furnished Atlanta office. He tapped a wooden letter opener rapidly in his palm as he thought. "But I have come to see the necessity of that emphasis. I've never thought I couldn't do it. But I have thought that America was creative leadership, without doing the day-to-day detail. In recent months I have tried to strengthen my administrative ability."

Though King and the N.A.A.C.P.—of which he is a member—periodically deny any rivalry, it is a fact that the "N-double-A" is warily watching one glaze the other. It is twofold. First, S.C.L.C. would become a membership organization, composed primarily of individual members rather than affiliate organizations, as at present. Second, it would become truly national. In such a move would put S.C.L.C. into full competition with the N.A.A.C.P. for members, dues, contributions and general support.

King will have to face the decision soon on whether he should be limiting himself to the South,



*Blast of fire here hit this Birmingham demonstrator.*

taneously but most in response to appeals from Doctor King to a mailing list of 35,000 people. When a crisis such as Birmingham's comes, an "emergency appeal" may be sent out, and sometimes it adds substantially to the year's budget. For example, the National Maritime Union alone sent King more than \$32,000 in the midst of the Birmingham crisis.

About \$100,000 of the S.C.L.C. budget is a grant by the Field Foundation to the home mission board of the United Church of Christ, which finances the citizenship school that S.C.L.C. administers. The remainder of the S.C.L.C. budget comes from periodic benefits, concerts and assorted entertainment.

King's financial reporting worries some people. In contrast to the N.A.A.C.P., which reports its money handling extensively and likes to emphasize that it must be "as above suspicion as Caesar's wife," S.C.L.C. reports little. Its only known published financial statement is a one-page, carbon-copied sheet with a very general listing of income and disbursements in round figures.

Partly because of its laxity in providing reports even to those with whom it deals on a professional level, S.C.L.C. seems to have suffered badly as a participant in the foundation-financed Voter

King himself had been trapped in the kind of emotion that builds up at these meetings. When he went to Albany he did not intend to go to jail or, apparently, to allow his entire prestige to be committed. But by the time he reached the church, earlier speakers had already fired up the crowd. A local Negro leader, Dr. W. G. Anderson, whirled in the midst of an oration about marching to certain arrest and exclaimed, "Reverend King will lead us, won't you, Reverend King?" The answer had to be yes. "I don't think King leads the movement," said a former associate. "It leads him."

Looking back, an executive of another rights group has commented, "As a professional, I was appalled by the lack of planning in the Albany campaign. They just charged off."

Almost everybody outside King's immediate camp thinks the Albany protest was a failure. "Albany can never be the same again," King had said at the time. But the walls of segregation did not come tumbling down anywhere there, and the Negro's lot today is little different except for some new hardships. Slater King, an Albany Negro leader and businessman, thinks the campaign was worth-while on the whole, but he estimates that 20 percent of the work force of Negro maids and cooks lost jobs permanently because of white hostility aroused by the marches.

"Albany is just as segregated as ever," says Police Chief Laurie Pritchett, who is credited with giving King his first major defeat. And Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Southeastern regional director of the N.A.A.C.P., says, "Albany was successful only if the goal was to go to jail."

### **A difference in objectives**

Doctor King himself, though he admits he might do things differently now, believes the marches did achieve something. "Negroes have straightened their backs in Albany," he says, "and once a man straightens his back you can't ride him anymore." It is a view that sheds light on the cause of many of his differences with leaders of other rights groups. As one such executive said, "We [various rights organizations] meet and decide on tactics for bringing about desegrega-

King said one day recently, semi-reclining in a swivel chair in his simple, cheaply furnished Atlanta office. He tapped a wooden letter opener rapidly in his palm as he thought. "But I have come to see the necessity of that emphasis. I've never thought I couldn't do it. But I have thought my function was creative leadership, without doing the day-to-day detail. In recent months I have come to strengthen my administrative ability."

Though King and the N.A.A.C.P.—of which he is a member—periodically deny any rivalry, it is obvious that "the N-double-A" is warily watching one plan he mulls over. It is twofold: First, S.C.L.C. would become a membership organization, composed primarily of individual members rather than affiliate organizations, as at present. Second, it would become truly national. In sum, this move would put S.C.L.C. into full competition with the N.A.A.C.P. for members, dues, contributions and general support.

"I will have to face the decision soon on whether I should be limiting myself to the South," King said. "In the North there are brothers and sisters who are suffering discrimination that is even more agonizing, in a sense, than in the South. In the South, at least the Negro can see progress, whereas in the North all he sees is retrogression."

At present, S.C.L.C.'s most far-reaching and, many civil-rights workers think, most useful activity is its citizenship-training program. In an attractive brick building called the Dorchester Center in rural McIntosh, Georgia, S.C.L.C. trains people it calls "the noncommissioned officers of the civil-rights movement." Most are leaders from small communities, learning how to teach basic literacy, voter-registration processes and procedures for obtaining government benefits. So far, about 600 Negroes from all over the South have gone through Dorchester. In Georgia alone, these graduates recently were conducting 50 local drives.

For these and other operations conducted by its staff of 40, S.C.L.C. has a 1963 budget of about \$450,000, up from \$260,000 in 1960, when the staff numbered three. Fees from its affiliates amount to about \$15,000 of this. Doctor King himself makes about \$100,000 with rallies, dinners and other personal appearances. A surprising \$150,000 comes through the mail, some spon-

For example, the National Maritime Union alone sent King more than \$32,000 in the midst of the Birmingham crisis.

About \$100,000 of the S.C.L.C. budget is a grant by the Field Foundation to the home mission board of the United Church of Christ, which finances the citizenship school that S.C.L.C. administers. The remainder of the S.C.L.C. budget comes from periodic benefits, concerts and assorted entertainment.

King's financial reporting worries some people. In contrast to the N.A.A.C.P., which reports its money handling extensively and likes to emphasize that it must be "as above suspicion as Caesar's wife," S.C.L.C. reports little. Its only known published financial statement is a one-page, carbon-copied sheet with a very general listing of income and disbursements in round figures.

Partly because of its laxity in providing reports even to those with whom it deals on a professional level, S.C.L.C. seems to have suffered badly as a participant in the foundation-financed Voter Education Project, set up last year to manage voter-registration programs through five participating organizations. S.C.L.C., which had enthusiastically disclosed that it would receive about \$90,000 from the fund last year, actually wound up getting less than \$25,000. And when the project drew up its tentative 1963 allocations this April, S.C.L.C. was down for none.

Others in the civil-rights movement are also taking a tough, critical look at S.C.L.C.'s work in voter registration. And, despite King's statement in an April fund-raising letter that "We are making the main thrust of our work in the area of voter registration," the "specialty of the house" with S.C.L.C. remains the mass protest. The ultimate outcome in Birmingham will be a judgment of this tactic, just as Albany was.

The name of Albany has come to have a special meaning in the rights movement. In that busy little city of 58,000 in the old plantation country of southwestern Georgia, a total of more than 1,100 Negroes marched to jail with King in December, 1961, and the spring of 1962, demanding desegregation. Thundering applause had nearly drowned out King's rising, falling oratory when he told a meeting of Albany Negroes: "Get on your walking shoes; walk together, children, and don'tcha get weary!"

maids and cooks lost jobs permanently because of white hostility aroused by the marches.

"Albany is just as segregated as ever," says Police Chief Laurie Pritchett, who is credited with giving King his first major defeat. And Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Southeastern regional director of the N.A.A.C.P., says, "Albany was successful only if the goal was to go to jail."

### A difference in objectives

Doctor King himself, though he admits he might do things differently now, believes the marches did achieve something. "Negroes have straightened their backs in Albany," he says, "and once a man straightens his back you can't ride him anymore." It is a view that sheds light on the cause of many of his differences with leaders of other rights groups. As one such executive said, "We [various rights organizations] meet and decide on tactics for bringing about desegregation. I have the feeling S.C.L.C. does not regard this as the primary objective. For them it's to increase the self-esteem of the Negro. That calls for different tactics."

Doctor King, having established himself as the foremost practitioner of the "fill the jails" tactic, now has set up a legal wing that may be useful when and if thousands more of his followers go to jail. Contributions to this new Gandhi Society will be tax-exempt—unlike those to S.C.L.C., a political-action group. Doctor King, honorary chairman of the Gandhi Society, acknowledges that it may enjoy foundation support—some, hopefully, from the Rockefeller Foundation.

The relationship between King and New York Governor Rockefeller has aroused a good deal of curiosity, especially since an S.C.L.C. official resigned with charges that Rockefeller was a heavy contributor to King for political reasons. The two men met at a Harlem rally in 1957 but had little contact until 1960. That year, when King was to speak at a fund-raising dinner in Albany, New York, the governor greeted him in New York City and then flew him to Albany in his personal plane. They had long talks. "I was very much impressed by him and the strength of his commitment," King recalls. They have talked since then, King says, but not frequently. "I must say he has shown a strong concern for civil

...do not think that wholly political." But  
...corner on the question of whether  
President Kennedy or Governor Rockefeller has  
more support as a civil-rights advocate.

...endorse candidates and will continue  
to follow this policy," King said, but he added, "I  
will go to the extent of telling people who ask my  
opinion what I think the candidates stand for."

...that could be an important endorsement.  
During the 1960 campaign his father, the Rev.  
M. L. King Sr., publicly endorsed John F.  
Kennedy for President because of the candidate's  
"greatest concern" to young Doctor King's wife  
Coretta, while her husband was confined at  
Georgia's Reidsville State Penitentiary. That  
case, and another by Bob Kennedy to a Georgia  
court handling a traffic case against King, are  
cited by many political observers with swing-  
ing Negro votes to elect Kennedy.

King's position in the rights movement un-  
questionably is enhanced by the fact that he has  
the ear of the President and, for that matter, of  
negroes around the world. He knows African  
problems better than he does the influential whites  
in his own hometown—recently he could not re-  
call the names of two of the most important  
churchmen in Atlanta, both of whom had  
dined with him to talk race relations. Not only  
in speaking terms with many African lead-  
ers, to an extent few white Americans appreciate,  
his name is known and revered throughout much  
of the world.

During the Birmingham push, for example, a  
State Corps official visiting in Senegal was pried  
for details about the America had put  
with the father, King in jail. And by now most of  
the world knows that he has been jailed 14  
times.

...where King catches up  
...in the Birmingham jail a few  
...on some writing. Seven  
...some of whom had  
...positions upon a mod-  
...Birmingham, had openly cri-  
...He answered them with a

His name is known and revered throughout the world.

During the Birmingham push, for example, a Peace Corps official visiting in Senegal was plying with questions about why America had put Martin Luther King in jail. And by now most of the world knows that he has been jailed 14 times—as this is written.

Usually, is the place where King catches up on his reading, but in the Birmingham jail a few weeks ago he caught up on some writing. Seven leading Alabama churchmen, some of whom had staked their prestige and positions upon a moderate solution in Birmingham, had openly criticized his actions there. He answered them with a publicly released 9,000-word letter which his staff later dubbed *Birmingham Jail Treatise of Martin Luther King Jr.* It was a telling document. More than ever it split him from the white moderates of the South and suggested that Negroes would plot their own course in the future.

The moderates, he wrote, had "gravely disappointed" him: "I have almost reached the regrettable conclusion that the Negro's great stumbling block in the stride toward freedom is not the White Citizens' Council or the Ku Klux Klan, but the white moderate who is more devoted to order than to justice; who prefers a negative peace which is the absence of tension to a positive peace which is the presence of justice; who constantly says, 'I agree with you in the goal you seek, but I can't agree with your methods of direct action'; who paternalistically feels that he can set the timetable for another man's freedom."

As for his own course, he said, he was the man in the middle in the Negro community. He stood between "a force of complacency" and "one of bitterness and hatred" exemplified by the Black Muslims, and he realized that he should have known that "few members of a race that has oppressed another race can understand or appreciate the deep groans and passionate yearnings of those who have been oppressed."

More than a "treatise" it sounded like a declaration of black independence in the civil-rights arena of the future.

THE END



Unshaven after stretch in Birmingham jail, King (right) and Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy pray silently.

F B I

Date: 6/7/63

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-286)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (157-826)

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING  
RACIAL MATTERS  
(OO: Atlanta)

11-13 W  
CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY SP4 JRM/ML  
REASON FOR EXTENSION 2  
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 6-7-83

Remyairtel, 6/4/63.

Enclosed herewith are eight copies of a letterhead memorandum reflecting a conversation between STANLEY LEVISON and MARTIN LUTHER KING, that took place on 6/6/63.

- 6 - Bureau (157-286) (Encls. 8) (RM)  
    (1 - 100-392452) (STANLEY LEVISON)  
    (1 - 100-106670) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)  
    (1 - 100-358916) (HUNTER PITTS O'DELL)  
2 - Atlanta (Encls. 2) (Info) (RM)  
    (1 - 100-5546) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)  
1 - New York (100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON) (414)  
1 - New York (100-126585) (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (412)  
1 - New York (100-73250) (CLARENCE JONES) (414)  
1 - New York (100-91330) (HUNTER PITTS O'DELL) (414)  
1 - New York (157-826) (414)

FEL:gmm  
(14)

NOT RECORDED  
191 JUN 21 1963  
M1 JUN 8 1963

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M-Per \_\_\_\_\_

JUL 1 1963

Classified by 6080  
Exempt from automatic declassification  
Date of review for declassification Indefinite

ORIGINAL FILED IN

NY 157-826

Secret

It should be noted that LEVISON is attempting to arrange for a television appearance for MARTIN LUTHER KING in conjunction with KING's appearance in New York City, for the commencement exercises at CCNY on 6/12/63. KING has told LEVISON that he is only interested in appearing on a program for no less than 15 minutes. This program would have to be a national network show such as the "Today" show. LEVISON has not been able to set up any program of this nature as yet. *u*

[REDACTED] *u*

[REDACTED] *b(1)*

The characterizations of individuals mentioned in the attached letterhead memorandum are listed at the end of the memorandum in order to insure that the reader is not distracted from the continuity of the memorandum.

DECLASSIFIED BY SP 4 JAM/K  
6076

The Attorney General

June 7, 1963

Director, FBI

REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
RACIAL MATTERS

1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Evans  
1 - Mr. Rosen  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. McGowan  
1 - Mr. Bland  
1 - Mr. Rushing

A confidential informant who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. was in contact with Stanley David Levison on June 4, 1963, at which time Levison informed Reverend Mr. King that he desired to discuss with him the promotion which the "Saturday Evening Post" is planning for an article setting forth an interview with the Reverend Mr. King which is to appear in the next issue of that magazine. Levison indicated that the public relations man for the "Saturday Evening Post" desires to know whether the Reverend Mr. King would be willing to appear on a television program in New York City.

Levison suggested that the proposed article be read before any commitment is made as to the television appearance inasmuch as the Reverend Mr. King would be placed in an embarrassing position should the article be unfriendly to him. Reverend Mr. King agreed, adding that the writer "raised a lot of questions about Jack and that kind of thing. He kept prying into that." He further stated that "...this had been in the press and he could have been just trying to clear it up.... He raised some of the critical questions that people raise...."

Levison indicated that he would read the galley proofs of the article and in the event he could not arrive at a decision as to its fairness he would contact the Reverend Mr. King.

The "Jack" referred to above would appear to be Jack Pitts O'Dell, also known as Jack O'Dell, who was identified in certain southern newspapers and in the "Long Island Star Journal" in October, 1962, as a concealed member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, and a official of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. As of July, 1962, O'Dell was still considered to be of the Communist Party, USA.

Tolson  
Belmont  
Mohr  
Casper  
Callahan  
Conrad  
DeLoach  
Evans  
Gale  
Rosen  
Sullivan  
Tavel  
Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Holmes  
Gandy

see note, page two

TDR/mea (13)

67 JUN 14 1963

SECRET

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic

22 JUN 13 1963

SECRET

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

The Attorney General

As you have been previously advised, Stanley David Levison has been identified by a source who has furnished reliable information in the past as a secret member of the Communist Party, USA. (S)

- 1 - The Deputy Attorney General
- 1 - Mr. Burke Marshall  
Assistant Attorney General
- 1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

NOTE:

This letter is classified "~~Secret~~" because it contains information from a highly confidential investigative technique, the unauthorized disclosure of which could have an adverse effect upon the national defense interest of the country. (S) J

- 2 -

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Attorney General

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

June 12, 1963

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Rosen  
1 - Mr. Malley  
1 - Mr. McGowan  
1 - Mr. Lavin  
1 - Mr. Mohr  
1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Evans  
1 - Mr. Sullivan

REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - C  
RACIAL MATTERS

DECLASSIFIED BY SP-4 JMM/ML  
ON 11-6-80

There is attached for your information a memorandum prepared by our New York Office setting forth the details of the conversation between Stanley Levison and Hunter Pitts O'Dell on June 9, 1963. Also set forth in the memorandum is information concerning a conference between Levison, Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., Mr. Clarence Jones, Reverend Wyatt Tee Walker and Reverend Ralph Abernathy, which took place on June 10, 1963.

All of the above persons are more fully identified in the memorandum.

The memorandum sets forth information concerning the plans of Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., and others concerning a mass march on Washington which may be held in August, 1963.

A copy of the attached memorandum is being furnished to the Honorable P. Kenneth O'Donnell, Special Assistant to the President.

Enclosure

- 1 - The Deputy Attorney General - Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. Burke Marshall, Assistant Attorney General - Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley, Assistant Attorney General - Enclosure

RBL:kak (15)

See memo Rosen to Belmont, 6/12/63, RBL:kak.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

67 JUN 14 1963 TELETYPE UNIT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
FIELD OFFICES  
ROUTING

REC'D-READING ROOM  
JUN 12 3 47 PM '63

19 JUN 13 1963

NOTE: This letter is being classified "Confidential" since it contains information from sources the disclosure of whom would adversely affect the defense interests of the United States.

11-6-60  
CLASSIFIED AND  
EXTENDED BY S.P.J. Amm  
REASON FOR EXTENSION

FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2

DATE OF REVIEW FOR

DECLASSIFICATION 6-483

FBI

Date: 6/4/63

Secret

Via AIRTEL

6076

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Evans  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-286)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (157-826)

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING  
RACIAL MATTERS  
(OO: Atlanta)

Remytel, 5/31/63.

Enclosed herewith are seven copies of a letterhead memorandum reflecting a conversation between STANLEY LEVISON, MARTIN LUTHER KING and CLARENCE JONES, that took place on 6/1/68d 2/63.

[REDACTED]

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF Classified  
DATE 4/14/77 RES

5- Bureau (157-286) (Encls. 7) (RM) Racial Matters  
(1 - 100-392452) (STANLEY LEVISON)  
(1 - 100-166670) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)  
- Atlanta (Encls. 2) (Info) (RM) Racial Matters  
(1 - 100-5546) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)  
1 - New York (100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON) (414)  
1 - New York (100-136585) (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (412)  
1 - New York (100-73250) (CLARENCE JONES) (414)  
1 - New York (157-826) (41)

HCO:gmm  
(12)

REC-100

3 JUN 5 1963

Classified by 6080

Exempted from

Date 11/9/77

Sent

SECRET

Secret

Per

Approved:

Special Agent in Charge

36,111

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP-10  
DATE 6-4-83

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☒ Deleted under exemption(s) b (1) with no segregable material available for release to you.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) \_\_\_\_\_, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); \_\_\_\_\_ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

☐ For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100 - 106670 - 132 x 2 airtel pg. 2,

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX  
X DELETED PAGE(S) X  
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X  
X FOR THIS PAGE X  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.  
Bureau 157-286

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

June 4, 1963

~~SECRET~~

~~Secret~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Evans	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

Re: Martin Luther King  
Racial Matters

On June 1 and 2, 1963, a Confidential Source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised of a discussion on ~~above~~ dates among Stanley Levison, a New York Attorney; Martin Luther King, leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); and Clarence Jones, Acting Executive Director of the Ghandi Society for Human Rights.

[REDACTED]

b(1)

The LYL has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

CONFIDENTIAL

Group I

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF *Classified*  
DATE *11/19/77*

*6-6-80*  
*11/19/77*

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

CONFIDENTIAL

Re: Martin Luther King  
Racial Matters

[REDACTED]

b(1)

Herbert Romerstein, a self-admitted former Communist and YPA member, in testimony before a sub-committee of the Committee of the Judiciary, United States Senate, on April 12 and June 12, 1951, stated that the YPA was set up on the basis of the needs of the Communist Party (CP). YPA members were active within the organization as Communists and the organization was developed along CP lines. Romerstein also related that YPA leadership was composed of CP members.

King mentioned that Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) had been imprisoned but may now be out on bond. Levison suggested that King send a telegram to the President protesting the incarceration of Wilkins. [REDACTED]

King told Levison he had read his, Levison's, memorandum, but did not quite understand what Levison proposed be done now. [REDACTED]

Levison explained that it was his thought that "the Birmingham pattern" can be followed in other cities where there are unresolved problems. He noted that in Atlanta, there is no bi-racial committee and the establishment of one could be a first demand. In other cities, it may be desirable to have direct action first "followed by the Birmingham pattern". Levison said that each city should be examined separately. [REDACTED]

CONFIDENTIAL

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Re: Martin Luther King  
Racial Matters

King commented that he has never seen the Negro community as aroused, as determined, as enthusiastic as at this time. He said that "more than ever before is this national determination and feeling that time is running out". He stated that he thought "we are on the threshold of a significant breakthrough and the greatest weapon is mass demonstration". [REDACTED] U

King stated "we are at the point where we can mobilize all of this righteous indignation into a powerful mass movement". [REDACTED] U

King suggested that there be a mass march or the impression be given that a mass march of "literally thousands and thousands of people" is going to be organized on Washington." He added "the threat itself may so frighten the President that he would have to do something". He asked Levison "are we ready for that?" [REDACTED] U

(5) Levison said there were two things which must be considered: [REDACTED] U

1. There must be unanimity among all groups. [REDACTED] U
2. Is there more pressure generated on Washington by the series of local situations than by a mass march on Washington? [REDACTED] U

King said that he felt there could be unanimity. He said Roy (Wilkins) would probably not be opposed as "pressure builds from the bottom" and the NAACP would exert such pressure on Wilkins. [REDACTED] U

With respect to the second point raised by Levison, King pointed out he was not thinking of concentrating on Washington alone, but was thinking of activity in every state. He said there

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Re: Martin Luther King  
Racial Matters

should be simultaneous protest on the local level "and at the same time a work stoppage would be called for all over America". He stated that the sort of thing he envisaged would have such an impact that "something would have to give". He again asked Levison if Levison thought the time was right for such a move and Levison agreed that "the time is now" [REDACTED] U 9.

Clarence Jones suggested that King should discuss his proposal with Roy Wilkins and Phil (A. Philip Randolph) before any announcement is made publicly. He felt the timing of such a move is most important. [REDACTED] U

Levison felt that King was the proper person to make such an announcement and felt that it could be announced when King addresses a scheduled Trade Union meeting and at his commencement address at City College of New York on June 12, 1963. Following this, Levison felt King could discuss it with both Roy Wilkins and "Phil". Levison felt that since it was then publicly announced, Wilkins would have a hard time objecting. King was of the opinion that he should call a special press conference, possibly in Atlanta, and make his announcement. Levison immediately agreed with this proposal and suggested he implement it in his speeches. [REDACTED] U

King stated that in all probability, he would get a call from Washington, suggesting that since the President is leaving for Europe shortly, it would be embarrassing for him. [REDACTED] 21

Levison commented that because of the President's trip to Europe, he will have to pay attention. He again suggested that a press conference would have a real impact, but suggested that "Phil" should be advised beforehand. [REDACTED] U

King said that such an undertaking would require a real job of mobilization and people would be needed full time. [REDACTED]

- 4 -  
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Secret

Re: Martin Luther King  
Racial Matters

Levison said the effect of such an announcement will "tip" the President towards Civil Rights legislation and this new legislation "will be a powerful lever". [REDACTED] U

King suggested that either Levison or Jones see "Phil" and "the two of you work out the statement" along the lines of the new militancy throughout the country. [REDACTED] U

King felt that such an undertaking would take six to eight weeks to organize. [REDACTED] U

Levison said that the summer can be a factor as many organizations are on vacation. It was indicated that Clarence Jones had attended a meeting at which the National Council of Churches had expressed an interest in King's "direct action" approach and had specifically mentioned a march on Washington. Levison asked Jones if it would be possible to quote individuals without mentioning names who had attended the aforementioned meeting, as "this is new when White Church leadership is looking for something in the way of direct action". He said this would give it the biggest, broadest front ever as "you can see the effect of Negroes joined by the National Council of Churches and not just the Negro Churches". [REDACTED] U

When Jones demurred to Levison's proposal, Levison agreed that perhaps it would be inadvisable. [REDACTED] U

Levison asked King if he would be willing to appear on a television program with James Baldwin, the writer. King was not enthusiastic about the idea because he felt that Baldwin was uninformed regarding his movement. King noted that Baldwin, although considered a spokesman of the Negro people, by the press, is not a civil rights leader. [REDACTED] U

- 5 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

~~Secret~~

June 6, 1963

GENERAL INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION

The attached memorandum sets forth information that Stanley Levison and Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., on June 1 and 2, 1963, discussed the Birmingham situation and Negro demonstrations and King expressed the thought they are on the threshold of a significant break through and the greatest weapon is mass demonstration. King suggested there be a mass march or the impression be given that a mass march of "literally thousands and thousands of people is going to be organized on Washington." He added "the threat itself may so frighten the President that he would have to do something." King asked Levison "are we ready for that."

A memorandum is being prepared for the Attorney General and the White House.

Classified 6-80  
Excluded 2  
Date of 11/19/77

100-106670-132x2

ENCLOSURE

DECODED COPY

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

☒ Radio☐ Teletype

URGENT 6-4-63

TO DIRECTOR AND SACS BIRMINGHAM-CHICAGO-INDIANAPOLIS-NEW YORK  
 FROM SAC ATLANTA 041410

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., RACIAL MATTERS.

b7(D)

[REDACTED] ADVISED THE

FOLLOWING IS ITINERARY FOR MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.:  
 LEAVE BIRMINGHAM DELTA FLIGHT 720 FOR ATLANTA  
 JUNE 5 NEXT; LEAVE ATLANTA DELTA FLIGHT 832, JUNE 5  
 NEXT TO CHICAGO; LEAVE CHICAGO TWA FLIGHT 312 JUNE 5  
 NEXT TO FORT WAYNE, INDIANA AND BACK TO CHICAGO JUNE 6  
 NEXT; LEAVE CHICAGO AMERICAN FLIGHT 984 JUNE 6 NEXT TO  
 NEW YORK; LEAVE NEW YORK BY EASTERN FLIGHT 503 JUNE 7  
 NEXT TO ATLANTA.

ABOVE FOR INFORMATION.

RECEIVED:

11:36 AM

JWF

REC-9

100-106670-132X1  
157 286-13

10 JUN 5 1963

UNCLASSIFIED

5180 RBIPB  
12-11-79

EX-100

RELAYED TO NEW YORK

F13  
5 JUN 10 1963

GENERAL INVESTIGATIVE

June 1, 1963  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Information regarding in teletype  
was previously set for attached memoran-  
dum A. Rosen to Mr. Belmont 5-31-63,  
captioned Martin Luther King, Racial  
Matters, CLM:cag.

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET2

Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.



Deleted under exemption(s) b (1) with no segregable material available for release to you.



Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.



Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.



Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) \_\_\_\_\_, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); \_\_\_\_\_ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_



For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_



The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

100 - 166670 - 132X

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 X DELETED PAGE(S) X  
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 X FOR THIS PAGE X  
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UNITED STATES GOV

*Memorandum*

TO : Mr. Belmont

DATE: May 31, 1963

FROM : A. Rosen

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING  
RACIAL MATTERS

CLASSIFIED AND  
EXTENDED BY **SP4**  
REASON FOR EXTENSION  
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2.....  
DATE OF REVIEW FOR  
DECLASSIFICATION.....

To so \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mon \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

CLASS. & EXT. BY: SP8 KRP/PS  
 EXTENSION DATE OF: 12-11-78  
1-24-82  
5-31-83

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN:

King and Levison agreed that the situation has to be kept moving so that the President will have to look for an alternative. The President can then be presented with certain alternatives. This will benefit the President, for then his problem, fear of violence, will be done away with. It was Levison's thought that the President is all ready to make a change. A conference now would be fruitful, but if a conference cannot be worked out, then the movement must be enlarged. King stated that he would like to put so much pressure on the President that he would have to sign an Executive Order making segregation unconstitutional. 3-11

Levison said that the method of negotiating used in Birmingham  
will set the pattern for a whole series of southern cities. That is, you come  
in with a package, come up with demands, discuss them and come out with a  
victory. You ask for more than you expect to get. The goals of the movement,  
according to Levison, are desegregation, jobs and the right to vote. The

1 - Mr. Mohr

1 - Mr. Evans

1 - Mr. DeLoach

1 - Mr. Sullivan

CLM:cag (10)

JUN 13 1963

Cl:

12.

1. 1. 1.

ST-102

REC- 75

11 JUN 63

~~XEROX~~

secret

JAN 17 1964

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont  
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING

~~SECRET~~

methods to get them are direct action, nonviolence, and negotiations. D

ACTION:

This information is being brought to the attention of the Attorney General and the Honorable P. Kenneth O'Donnell, Special Assistant to the President, by letter presently being prepared under today's date.

*John*

*R*

*J.F.M.*

*V*

*Q*

*I phoned substance  
of this to A.G.*

*21*

~~SECRET~~

F B I

Date:

6/5/63

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTELREGISTERED MAIL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

DECLASSIFIED BY SP-4 JAM/ldON 11-6-80

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Evans	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-358916)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-91330)

SUBJECT: HUNTER PITTS O'DELL  
IS-C  
(OO:NY)

On 6/4/63, [redacted] furnished information concerning a telephone call to STANLEY LEVISON from MARTIN LUTHER KING in Birmingham. LEVISON told KING that he wanted to discuss the promotion which the Saturday Evening Post is planning for an interview with KING that is to appear in the next issue of that magazine. LEVISON stated that the public relations man for the magazine wants to know if KING would be willing to appear on some T.V. program in NYC.

LEVISON continued that he knew that KING had some question as to what the interview will be like since the writer indicated some hostility. LEVISON suggested that the article should be read before any commitment is made as to a T.V. appearance because if the article should be unfriendly KING would be placed in an embarrassing position. KING agreed and added that "he raised a lot of questions about JACK and that kind of thing. He kept prying into that." KING further stated that "...this had been in the press and he could have been just trying to clear it up. he raised some of the critical questions that people raise..."

100-106670

1-Bureau (100-358916) (RM)  
 (1-100-392452) (STANLEY LEVISON)  
 (1-100-186670) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)  
 2-Atlanta (INFO) (RM)  
 (1-100-5546) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)  
 1-NY 100-111180 (STANLEY LEVISON) (414)  
 1-NY 100-136585 (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (412)  
 1-NY 100-91330 (44)

NOT RECORDED

202 JUN 13 1963

21 JUN 6 1963

JFO:umh  
(11)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

ORIGINAL FILED IN

~~Secret~~

NY 100-91330

They agreed that the magazine is looking for sensational articles and that LEVISON should read the galley proofs of the article and that if LEVISON could not arrive at a decision as to its fairness he would call KING and read him excerpts from it. *g*

It is the opinion of the NYO that the JACK referred to by KING is JACK O'DELL. It is noted that information had appeared in the "Long Island Star Journal" and southern newspapers in October, 1962, relating O'DELL's background and his connection with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference of which MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. is President. However, since the information furnished by NY 2580-S\* does not definitely identify O'DELL, this information is not being disseminated via letterhead memorandum. *cl*

FBI

Date: 6/5/63

Transmit the following in (Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL (Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-358916)  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-91330)  
SUBJECT: HUNTER PITTS O'DELL  
IS-C  
(OO:NY)

DECLASSIFIED BY 5/4 Jan/66  
ON 6-11-66  
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
SLIP(S) OF Classification  
DATE 1/11/77

On 6/4/63, [REDACTED] furnished information concerning a telephone call to STANLEY LEVISON from MARTIN LUTHER KING in Birmingham. LEVISON told KING that he wanted to discuss the promotion which the Saturday Evening Post is planning for an interview with KING that is to appear in the next issue of that magazine. LEVISON stated that the public relations man for the magazine wants to know if KING would be willing to appear on some T.V. program in NYC.

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- 5-Bureau (100-358916) (RM)
  - (1-100-392452) (STANLEY LEVISON)
  - (1-100-166670) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)
- 2-Atlanta (INFO) (RM)
  - (1-100-5546) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)
- 1-NY 100-111180 (STANLEY LEVISON) (414)
- 1-NY 100-136585 (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (412)
- 1-NY 100-91330 (44)

File 5077-  
100-106670  
WTF

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(11)

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NOT RECORDED  
150 JUL 24 1963

JUN 13 1963

Special Agent in Charge

Sent 6080  
Date of Receipt 6/2/63 11/9/77

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NY 100-91330

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b(2) b7(D)

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GO

T

## Memorandum

~~Secret~~

TO : Mr. Belmont

DATE: June 3, 1963

FROM : A. Rosen

SUBJECT: REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - C;  
RACIAL MATTERS

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
DeLoach	_____
Evans	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

~~SECRET~~

There is attached a letter for the Attorney General setting forth background information on Stanley David Levison who has been described by an informant who has furnished reliable information in the past as a secret member of the Communist Party, USA.

Also set forth is a summary of information received from confidential sources of contacts made by Levison concerning Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., and Clarence Jones, the Acting Executive Director of the Ghandi Society for Human Rights.

This information has been brought to the Attorney General's attention in the past and this will furnish him with a readily available summary of these contacts and background information on Levison.

ACTION:DECLASSIFIED BY SP-4 JAR/ML  
ON 11-6-80

That the attached letter be furnished to the Attorney General.

## Enclosures (2)

- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

HF/RBL:tab/jhm  
(11)

~~SECRET~~

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JUN 7 1963

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